Her Highness Punyashil Shri Laxmibai Saheb,
Dowager Maharani of Kolhapur.

Colonel His Highness Sir Shri Shahu Chhatrapati, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., LL.D., &c., Maharaja of Kolhapur
(in his Durbar dress).

MEMOIRS

OF HIS HIGHNESS

SHRI SHAHU CHHATRAPATI

MAHARAJA OF KOLHAPUR.

BY

A. B. LATTHE.

VOL. I.

BOMBAY:
PRINTED AT THE TIMES PRESS,
1924.

ERRATA FOR THE AUTHOR'S PREFATORY NOTE.

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l. 6 *insert* ' on ' after ' going on '

l. 29 *delete* ' of '

l. 30 *insert* ' interest ' after ' keenest '

AUTHOR'S PREFATORY NOTE.

FOR various reasons I would not have undertaken the writing of the following pages. But one paramount fact outweighed all considerations which might have induced me to decline the invitation of the Kolhapur Durbar to undertake this work. While discussions were going on this point, it was quite clear to me that His Highness Shri Rajaram Chhatrapati Maharaja and his august mother, Her Highness the Dowager Maharani Saheb, were determined to have the work done by me, however much others, including my own humble self, may have wished otherwise. The courageous attachment to the Non-Brahmin cause which the new Chhatrapati Maharaja and his mother showed at a very delicate and critical moment impressed me so deeply that it became impossible for me not to obey a call which came from them. By obeying their command, I felt I was obeying a call to duty made by the cause of Non-Brahmin regeneration.

The difficulties in my way were quite numerous. If I have succeeded in overcoming them to some extent, thanks are due entirely to His Highness Shri Rajaram Maharaja himself. He was pleased to place at my disposal all the materials for a memoir of his father which were available. Some of this material was of a highly confidential nature. He left it wholly to me to make whatever use I liked of that material. I am grateful to His Highness for this as well as many other ways in which he was good enough to assist me in the work entrusted to me.

The next to come to my mind is Sir Stuart Fraser whose help has been of very valuable and varied. He took the keenest in the whole of the work, read almost every page of the book before it was finally printed and sent to me several

important suggestions. His "Personal Reminiscences" and Preface will be read, I am sure, with the greatest interest by every reader of this book. I cannot be too thankful to him for all this assistance.

The advice and help of Rao Bahadur R. V. Sabnis, C.I.E., was simply indispensable to me. If the choice had been left to me, I would certainly have pointed out to him as the fittest person to write a biography of the late Chhatrapati Maharaja. Failing his writing it himself, I had a right to claim his assistance at every step; and I am glad to find that he was always ready to give it to me in full measure. I thank him very sincerely.

I had to indent upon the kindness of many others for information in connection with this work. Among those of them whose names must be particularly mentioned, Shrimant Bapusaheb Maharaj, the Senior Chief of Kagal and Shrimant Kakasaheb, the Junior Chief Saheb, are the first and foremost. I must also mention here the full notes which Rao Saheb Dr. Tengshe sent to me in respect of the Maharaja's trip to Europe in 1902. My thanks are due to all of them.

I feel I cannot close this Note of thanks without making, however briefly, a reference to the Kshatra Jagadguru and Mr. Shankarrao Indulkar. I need not try to describe how they helped the present work. But I will say only this: Without their sincerity and directness to stand by me, I could not have discharged the duty entrusted to me. I thank them both as sincerely as they helped me.

BELGAUM, A. B. LATTHE.

6th May 1924.

PREFACE.

By Sir S. M. Fraser, K.C.S.I.

THIS Memoir of H. H. Sir Shahu Chhatrapati, Maharaja of Kolhapur, is no mere selection from the annals of a Native State, compiled by a panegyrist of the late ruler. Not the least interesting part of the book, it is true, will be found in the chapters sketching the history of Kolhapur, and showing how the Maharaja's illustrious ancestor, Sivaji the Great, built up the Mahratta nation, and how Sir Shahu's similarly masterful personality re-established in no small measure the old authority, social, and religious, which attached to the ancient conception of Kshatriya Kingship in a State where the prestige of the rulers had fallen low during a long succession of minorities. His own people will rightly honour him as the greatest ruler of his line since the days when the Kolhapur State attained a separate existence, and, if only from the local point of view, a record of his life would have been well worth preserving.

His biographer, Professor Latthe, however, who is himself a leader of the non-Brahmin movement in British India, writes with none of the limitations of a courtier, and has been fortunate in finding ready to his hand materials for a work of far wider scope—the history of a movement as well as of a man—which should prove of interest to a large circle, including many who are unfamiliar with the name of Kolhapur.

Averse as he was from the arts of self-advertisement, His Highness was less known either in India or in England than many other Ruling Princes, but readers of this book will agree that few, if any, Indians of whatever rank have made a contribution to the cause of social and religious

reform more courageous, more practical and more inspiring to his fellow countrymen alike in British India and in the Native States.

Preachers of reform have appeared from time to time of many different types; scholars and philosophers of the literate classes, saints, poets and lovers of their fellowmen, who sprang from a variety of castes. It may be doubted, however, whether anything like a similar instance is recorded of a Ruling Prince who worked and suffered during his whole manhood in one long struggle against the deep-rooted evils of a complex social and religious system in order to effect the betterment of the humblest of his fellow-men.

Not a low-caste man who had himself been under the harrow of oppression, but a Kshatriya of illustrious family, and Ruler of the principal State in the Bombay Presidency—not a studious ascetic, but a genial figure, fortunate in his one wife and his children, and very human in all his traits—not a freethinker, but scrupulous even to the verge of superstition in his personal observances—untouched by Western republican ideas and a model of personal loyalty to the Crown—an all-round sportsman who loved horse and hound—the Maharaja was a man who might have found his place among the ranks of those who view the world as a comfortable dwelling on the whole, make the best of things as they are, and avoid stirring up hornets' nests. Such a conventional attitude, however, did not accord either with the Chhatrapati Maharaja's militant conscience or with his ideal of the obligations attaching to his position. His varied characteristics add interest to the story of his life-long fight in one of the most unselfish of causes.

From the very beginning of the twenty-six years of his rule, the Maharaja made it his mission to work for the amelioration of all classes by emancipating them from the domination of the caste system. It is a common place that the status of a Hindu, social and religious, depends upon the caste or

particular water-tight compartment of society in which he is born and lives and ends his days. Therefore from the nature of the case, His Highness, in combating a system based upon religion and hallowed by tradition, undertook a task of stupendous magnitude, in which the concurrent social and religious issues were later on interwoven with the question of political reform.

Reduced to their simplest terms, his manifold activities may be classified as aiming at two connected objects—the education of the masses and the breaking down of the barriers between man and man created by caste.

Education in India, it will be remembered, ceased to be in any way a Brahmin monopoly from the date of the British Government's cardinal decision in 1833, which put in the forefront of Britain's duty to India the task of opening up instruction in schools to all castes and creeds. Progressive efforts to extend education downwards among the masses were made from that time onwards, in spite of the handicap imposed upon a Government, which is necessarily pledged to religious neutrality, by the inveterate prejudices of Indians themselves. Millions, however, remained steeped in ignorance, and the Maharaja devoted his energies to the free and compulsory education of the backward classes as the first plank upon which to build the non-Brahmin structure for their elevation. To the end of his life he continued founding and endowing new schools and, most important of all, hostels in order to extend the benefits of higher education to those who hitherto had possessed little desire or power to seek them. The special value of such hostels is now recognized by all educational authorities in India, but in no city throughout the continent has the system been developed to the same extent as in Kolhapur, or with the same success in supplementing the lack of religious teaching in schools. By 1920 separate hostels had been started in the Maharaja's small capital for no fewer than eleven different sections of

the community, including the Indian Christians and the so-called Untouchables. Nor were his catholic sympathies limited to his own subjects. In all his reform work, his mission extended itself beyond Kolhapur and not merely to Marathas in the caste sense of the term, but to all the people of Maharashtra.

The religious side of his reforms gained its first impulse from what is known as the Vedokta controversy, which, it will be seen, involved a great deal more than the question whether the Bhosale and Ghatge families were entitled to the status of Kshatriyas or should be relegated to the rank of Shudras. Professor Latthe traces historically the age-long struggle between the Brahmins and Kshatriyas, which assumed an acute shape in the Deccan as far back as the days of Shivaji when the Brahmins resisted the rising ambitions of the martial classes to assert their social rights. As in those times, so again in this century, political jealousy of the Maratha was a class motive colouring the religious issue in the trial of strength that took place from 1901 onwards between the ruler of Kolhapur and the Brahmin hierarchy. To the European of to-day the pains and penalties of Papal ex-communication are little more than a curiosity of mediæval history, and it is almost impossible for him to realize the odds arrayed against the Maharaja, and what it cost one who was then an orthodox Hindu, to hold out against the religious ban imposed upon him by the Brahmin mouthpieces of the Gods and the dispensers of divine favour as he was brought up to regard them.

His own hereditary priest, the Jagadguru Swami, or High Priest of the Shankaracharya Math, and the whole close corporation of the Brahmin community in the Deccan, including thousands of his own hitherto loyal subjects, were instigated to unite against him. So far as the Maharaja personally was concerned, it seems clear that he might have compromised matters and obtained recognition of his own

Kshatriyaship as a Ruling Prince. A weaker man would have yielded to this temptation, but the injustice of the bigoted persecution he had to endure merely quickened his sympathy with those who were less able to fight for themselves, and when after an interval of years he finally won the battle, his resolve had become fixed that thereafter not only Kshatriyas, but other castes as well, should stand in social and religious matters independent of the Brahmin priesthood.

The results of this determination were far reaching. No longer content to admit the predominance of the Brahmin so long as the Kshatriyas' claim to the Vedic form of worship was conceded, the Maharaja began to contemplate the creation of a separate priesthood of his own caste on the analogy of the Jains and Lingayats. First, however, His Highness made inquiries, in what Mr. Latthe aptly terms the spirit of an Akbar, into various reformed movements of Hinduism, the Satya Shodak in the Deccan, Brahmoism, Theosophy and the Arya Samaj, in search of the system which would best satisfy the spiritual as well as the social needs of the non-Brahmins. Until comparatively recent times, it is pointed out, the conscience of the layman had remained a negligible factor in the disputes between rival religious factions, and Hindu society was content to assume without question that the claim to officiate as Purhohit was a monopoly vested in the Brahmin priests. A new spirit, however, was stirring, and fresh manifestations of Brahmin bigotry awakened among considerable masses the desire to purify the Hindu religion by rooting out priestcraft as the indispensable intermediary between God and man. The analogy of their ideas with the spirit of the great Protestant Reformation in Europe was not overlooked by the Satya Shodak leaders who asserted the position that, just as the Protestants rebelled under Luther against the infallibility of the Pope, so the Non-Brahmins must rebel against the Brahmin priesthood and its High

Priest, the Shankaracharya Swami, who professed to keep the keys of the Hindu heavens. This and other similar movements of which Mr. Latthe gives a sketch, may prove, it is obvious, of great importance in the evolution of Hinduism. Time alone will shew whether their growth is continuous or whether there is a set-back before the new spirit leavens appreciably the masses, as, I believe, it ultimately must. However this may turn out, the Satya Shodhak made way in Kolhapur and the adjoining districts. The Maharaja established a Satya Shodhak School in 1913 and the revolt against the authority of the Swami spreading from the towns into the villages, hundreds of marriages and other lesser ceremonies were performed by Marathas for Marathas.

Later on His Highness came to entertain greater hopes of a religious reconstruction in the equally tolerant doctrines of the Arya Samaj which, being based on the foundation of the Vedas, were more acceptable to Hindus as a creed and stronger as a weapon for the breaking of Brahmin despotism. In 1920 he instituted the Shivaji Kshatriya Vedic School for Marathas "to root out the superstitions which have been mixed up with the Vedic religion, and to restore the purity of the Vedic system." A bolder innovation was made when he appointed a Maratha to be the Jagadguru of the Patgaon Math with the following instructions:—"Your ideal ought to be to do away with the middleman between God and man." In his own Palace he ordered that the worship of the family Gods should be performed at the hands of Marathas instead of Brahmins.

Nor did any inconsistency occur between his precept and his practice. Sir Shahu Chhatrapati never asked any one to do what he was not prepared to do himself. Many an advanced thinker, Eastern as well as Western, has turned again to his old faith and his boyhood's rites, when he felt the sands of life running out. But it was not so with this man. His last words, we are told, were:—"I am ready to go. I

have no fears," and for the first time in the history of his race, the obsequies of a Chhatrapati Maharaja were performed, as he desired, by men of his own caste and not by the Brahmin priests.

From the characters of the two men it was inevitable that the Maharaja should come into conflict with Tilak and his Shivaji movement, which was socially reactionary as well as politically anti-British, and the wave of sedition and anarchy which swept over India in the opening years of this century broke over Kolhapur with more severity than any other Native State. An attempt was made to murder the Resident, Colonel Ferris, and numerous prosecutions followed. The whole story is not told in this book but His Highness threw himself into the anti-Sedition Campaign with all his usual zeal and thoroughness. Not content with tackling the evil in his own territory, his successful efforts in unravelling plots in the Bombay Presidency were of the greatest value to the British Government, who repeatedly acknowledged the splendid loyalty he displayed and awarded him in 1909 the high honour of a personal salute of twenty-one guns. On the other hand as a matter of course he incurred the hostility of the extremist press in British India, which pursued him with unscrupulous malignancy to the end of his life.

The Great War offered His Highness another opportunity of spending himself in the service of the Crown with all his characteristic energy. He subscribed money so far as the limited resources of his State permitted, but his most valuable contributions took the shape of personal work. Notable as proving the reality of his authority over all Marathas, whereever born, was the incident described by the author, when the garrison in Kut ran short of food and the Maratha sepoys had scruples about eating horse-flesh, the Chhatrapati Maharaja volunteered to go to Mesopotamia and be carried into Kut by aeroplane in order to talk personally with the men, and, when this proved impossible to attempt, sent

them a stirringly worded appeal as from one caste man to his brethren, which effected its object and helped to prolong their gallant resistance.

Returning now in order of time to the Maharaja's principal work among the masses, Mr. Latthe shows how the British Government's momentous announcement of August 20th, 1917, of a constitutional policy in India, which promised the people the progressive realisation of responsible government, gave a political turn to the non-Brahmin movement and led His Highness to open a new campaign. He was quick to realise that the constitutional changes in British India must react upon the territories under the rule of every Indian Prince and create new problems for them as for the British Government. But viewing the question less from the angle of his own Order than as a leader of the non-Brahmin classes generally, he enunciated on many a platform the view—not so popular as its commonsense merited—that if the Indian continent were to be made fit for Home Rule, and if that rule were to develop on true democratic lines, instead of reimposing upon the people the yoke of an oligarchy, it was now more necessary than ever to level up the backward masses in the matter of education, to teach them their civil rights and to substitute the spirit of toleration for the rigid exclusivism of caste. These, as we have seen, were but the aims he had been steadily pursuing ever since his accession, but with the prospect of the country's policy being controlled in the future by Indians elected on a popular franchise, he now redoubled his efforts to improve the status of the "untouchable" masses in particular. His text, "Those who take part in politics must treat men as men" reads like a platitude to all who do not realise the inhuman degradation to which the ban of untouchability condemns millions of human beings at the hands of the Hindu community. Rightly does Mr. Latthe term the work His Highness did for the depressed classes as stupendous and give it the place of honour among his

many beneficent activities. Emphasizing that the highborn classes must make a sacrifice of their hereditary privileges as the Samurai did in Japan, the Chhatrapati Maharaja, the high caste ruler of the Kolhapur State, himself set such an example as no Kshatriya Prince had ever set before and actually ate in public from the hands of outcastes. Further to raise their status he appointed men of these classes to places on his personal establishment, and, removing by legislation all the disabilities from which they suffered, he threw open to them service in every department of the State. Nor here again did His Highness confine hisefforts to his own territory. Always bearing in mind that the Native States and the British Provinces are interwoven parts of one Indian Empire, he did not allow his rank as a Ruling Prince to deter him from presiding over numerous conferences of the backward and depressed classes in and beyond the Bombay Presidency.

No elaborate analysis of the character of the late Maharaja need be added to this brief indication of a few of the reasons why this book deserves to be read. His biographer is a candid critic and in quoting freely from His Highness' own private letters to illustrate the many-sided character of his subject, he has not attempted to picture him only in the most favourable light.

To my mind the outstanding feature which explains Sir Shahu Chhatrapati's life-work is his combination of a broad humanity with an uncompromising courage that led him to practise what he preached without any of the reservations prudence might have dictated for one who was not free, like a private individual, from the restrictions of a great public position. Liberal ideas had been spreading and His Highness was by no means the first Hindu who deplored the social evils of Hinduism and advocated its reform, though few had gone so far in stressing the Western principle, not of the equality of man, but of the equal right of the poorest

and feeblest to his own freedom and to a perfect equality of treatment. Wide, however, has been hitherto the gulf separating words and action in the sphere of social and religious reform, and it is for the self-sacrificing courage of his actions that the Maharaja claims our special admiration. Not his the nature to halt and talk upon the brink. Fearless of consequences, he plunged in himself to lead the way across. It is true that, as a Ruling Prince, he had great resources at his command to give effect to his policy, but the more prominent his position, the stronger were the trammels of environment he had to burst, and—it must not be forgotten—the more he suffered in the battle for his cause. His Highness would not have denied that he was a fighting man by nature and, helped by no small sense of humour, he bore his buffets in the temper of the good sportsman he was. It would be absurdly unjust, however, to believe that he fought the Brahmins for the pleasure of fighting or that he did not feel very acutely indeed the mud-throwing of which he and his family were for years the target. Never hesitating to admit what he owed to liberal-minded Brahmins, like Mr. Ranade, Mr. Agarkar and Mr. Gokhale, he retained friends among their ranks throughout. In a word, he opposed Brahmins as a system, not so much from hatred of the Brahmins as because he loved the non-Brahmin masses and because he was that type of man—uncommon in any country—whom the sight of injustice stirred, not merely to intellectual disapproval but to a heartfelt ardour to strike a blow and remedy the wrong.

We live too close to his times to view his work as yet in its true perspective, and can but speculate whether disunion among the ranks may not—for a time at any rate— check the Reformation movements, social, religious and political, which the last Maharaja championed. The record of his life, however, it is safe to assert, contains materials which no historian of the New India, growing up under our eyes, can afford to neglect; and, when the bitterness of controversies

in which he played so strenuous a part dies down, who can doubt that Indians of every class will treasure with pride, like a national possession, the memory of Sir Shahu Chhatrapati Maharaj as a truly great man.

S. M. FRASER.

CHRISTCHURCH,
September, 1923.

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CHAPTER I.

The Foundations of the State.

The importance of Kolhapur Raj—The organisation of Shivaji—His difficulties—Rajaram the second founder—Tarabai and Shahu—The fight between Poona and Kolhapur.

DIVESTED of its historical and national associations, the Kolhapur State, of which His Highness Shri Shahu Chhatrapati Maharaja was the ruler until his death on the 6th of May 1922, would lose a considerable part of the fascination it has for Indians of all classes. With an area of 3,217·1 square miles including the Feudatories and a population, according to the census of 1921, of 833,726, the State is not bigger than many a District of British India.* But the true greatness of the Kolhapur Raj cannot be realised by a reference to facts like this. Nor would it be possible without a review of these associations to have a full, accurate and true idea of the great work which the late Maharaja accomplished not only in his own State, but in the life of the Mahratta Nation from whose hands the British people took over the sceptre of Imperial authority, as far as it existed, in this country. The House of the Chhatrapatis (literally the Suzerain Rulers), though no more entitled to the political headship of the Mahratta Nation, is still looked upon as the natural centre of the national life of the Mahrattas of which the foundations were laid truly and deep by the greatest Hindu King since the days of Ashok, Shivaji the Great, in the seventeenth century. Shivaji, born in the caste which goes by the honoured name

*" Compared with English counties the Kolhapur State is not much larger in size than Devonshire, while its population exceeds that of the southern county of England by one-third."—Mr. LeeWarner in 1886.

of the nation which he himself ushered into existence, was in fact a member of the Kshatriya order—one of the four into which Hindu society is traditionally classified—which traced its lineage from the blue blood of the Ranas of Udepur. During the many centuries of Mussalman rule, Hindu society lost most of the traces of its original organisation and when Shivaji was born, it was split up into castes which owed no allegiance to that national organisation of bygone centuries. It was Shivaji's glory to have seen, through the decay of his age, the purity of the social system on which the ancient Hindus had based their national life. His forefathers and many Maratha soldiers who distinguished themselves during the period of Mahomedan domination were often as good warriors as Shivaji and his comrades; but with a vision all his own, Shivaji rose above the individual and the caste and attempted with signal success the difficult task of re-establishing the Mahratta Nation on the old and time-honoured lines.

He tried to organise the Maratha and the Brahmin, the Prabhu and the Kunbi into one Mahratta Nation.† No Hindu caste remained outside the pale of Shivaji's organisation. In his scheme, the Kshatriya, and not this caste or that, fought and ruled. In the administrative machinery which he established deserving men of all castes had their place. His soldiers belonged to many castes and so did his statesmen. On the broad basis of this re-constructed national life, Shivaji founded the Hindu—better known in history as the

† The success which he achieved was the result of an intellectual, and spiritual renaissance which originated from the teachers of many castes, mostly Non-Brahminical and. when Brahmin, outcasted by their castemen. Dnyandeo was an example of this latter class. Among the Non-Brahmin saint-teachers, the most prominent were (1) Chokhamela, a Mahar, (2) Sawanta, a Mali, (3) Raka and Gora who were Kumbhars, (4) Rohidas belonging to the Chambhar caste, (5) Namdeo, a Shimpi, (6) Tukaram, a Wani, and (7) Kabir, who was a Mussalman. No wonder that the Hindu revival, turned to political purpose by Shivaji, was a national, and in no sense a caste, movement.

The words 'Mahratta' and 'Maratha' must be distinguished. The first denotes the nation of which the second—a caste—is the most numerous section.

Mahratta—Empire whose traditions and glory are the heritage of Kolhapur. "The Kolhapur Raj," as the deputation of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha headed by a Brahmin ruling Chief put it on the occasion of the adoption of Shri Shahu Maharaj into the Chhatrapati family of Kolhapur said, "represents in these days the direct line of the descendants of the Great Shivaji who founded the Mahratta Empire and though its territorial limits are now confined to a small district, yet it is by reasons of its traditions an object of reverence and affection throughout the whole of Hindustan, wherever the Maratha influence extends. It is this national bond of allegiance and love which has brought us," the deputation of ruling Brahmin Chiefs and educated leaders of Poona, "here to join with the people of Kolhapur on this auspicious occasion." As the same Sabha observed on another occasion through the mouth of the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale, "the Kolhapur Gadi still continues to stand as a visible emblem of the great work which the Marathas were able to achieve; and its occupants will always be regarded by the people of the whole Maharashtra—even by those who are not directly subject to their rule—with feelings of veneration and affection."

The traditions, antecedents and associations which thus hallowed the Gadi of the Kohapur State gave its occupant many advantages which very few Indian princes possess. But what is perhaps even more important is, that they make the task of the rulers of Kolhapur more difficult, more onerous and more complex than any that an Indian Maharaja is called upon to perform. This can only be understood by a reference to the circumstances in which the Kolhapur Raj came into being and eked out its existence through the storm and stress of the eighteenth century. Even that hero of the Mahratta Nation, Shivaji, could not escape those difficulties in his lifetime. It was after many struggles that his father, Shahaji, could establish his claims to the hand of Jijabai, the mother of

Shivaji, whose father and the Maratha aristocracy of his time refused to acknowledge Shahaji's right to the honours of aristocratic lineage. Even after Shivaji became the unquestioned King of the Mahrattas—I do not use the word in the sense of the caste of that name—the Brahmins of his age declined to admit that he was entitled to Chhatrapatiship which implied the socio-religious leadership of the nation. The close connection between this and the politico-military leadership of Maharashtra which Shivaji had attained by his success on the battlefield could hardly be rightly appreciated by those who have come under the influence of modern ideas of kingship. But in the India of those days, the connection was as close as it was real. The Chhatrapati was not a mere king. He embodied in himself the highest ideals of manhood in Hindu society. Before Brahminism won its triumphs against the Kshatriyas of ancient times, it was the latter who were at the head of Hindu Society. They protected the people under their sway from aggression and lawlessness. But this was not the most important of their functions. They interpreted the Divine Law and maintained it in this world. Theirs was the agency through which the spiritual realised itself into the mundane existence. The Brahmins who afterwards usurped the first place in Hindu Society waged a relentless war against the Kshatriyas because they were jealous of the unique position occupied by the Kshatriyas as the brave leaders of the nation. The many sanguinary and fratricidal struggles between the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas which ended in the weakening though not, as alleged, the total destruction of the latter, and which are described at great length by the Brahminic writers of the Puranas, need not be described here. But the effect which the final success of the Brahmins had on Hindu Society is of vital importance for a proper appreciation of the great work which Kolhapur tried to do throughout the history of the Mahrattas and which Shri Shahu Chhatrapati had to carry on to the last day of his eventful career. The

triumph of Brahminism tolled the death-knell of the national life of the Hindus. For the glorification of their own order whose only strength was ritualism, mysticism and superstition, the Brahmins pulled down the edifice of Hindu Society by weakening its foundations. Their success turned the national prowess of the Hindus, embodied in the Kshatriya class, into a mercenary force devoid of all higher inspiration and impulse. The warrior became a tool of the priestcraft. Having thus lost its primary function of protecting society in peace and war, the Kshatriya order came to lose its claims even to mere existence. The Brahmin declared through his scriptures that in the Kali Yuga the only classes which existed were his own and that of the servile Sudra. The functions assigned to Sudrahood are too well known to need description here. The Sudras were at first the conquered aboriginal people whose lot was naturally nothing better than that of slaves and the reduction of the people to Sudrahood therefore broke the Hindu national organisation to pieces. The giants of the Kshatriya race from the days of Vishwamitra have been fighting with the intriguing priesthood to assert their own rights and revive the lost order of society. The conquest of India by the Mussalmans, rendered easy by the demoralisation of the warrior race wrought about by the wily priesthood, shattered all hopes of that order being ever revived. Shivaji was the one Kshatriya who successfully turned back the waves of Muslim invasions from the Maharashtra; but to the great misfortune of his countrymen, he was not blessed with a sufficiently long span of life to be able to consolidate the work which he had done. When therefore his eldest son, Sambhaji, was captured with his wife and son, Shahu of Satara, and put to death by Aurangzebe, the edifice of Swarajya built by Shivaji with such care and labour fell to pieces and Rajaram, the second son of Shivaji, had to relay the foundations and erect a new structure on them. As misfortune would again have it, Rajaram had just enough time to

do the work undone by the captive Shahu's father; for like his great father, he too met with a premature and untimely death and had to leave the work of consolidation to his wife, Tarabai, the founder of the Kolhapur Raj. For the good of the Mahratta Empire, this gifted lady should have been the Regent of the Satara branch of Shivaji's eldest son for a sufficiently long time but nemesis would have it otherwise. The Moghuls who held Shahu a captive at Delhi found that the statesmanship of Rajaram and his queen Tarabai baulked them of the reward of their successes against Sambhaji. What, however, the Moghul arms could not achieve was achieved by the trick which they played against the Mahratta Nation by liberating Shahu on the express understanding that he was to assume the kingship of the Marathas as the deputy of the Moghuls of Delhi. Tarabai and many of her ministers and generals clearly saw through the game and determined to resist the pretensions of Shahu to the Gadi of his grandfather. Tarabai contended that Shahu was no more than an impostor set up by Aurangzebe who had played a similar trick on Jaswant Sing's death. The probabilities were on Tarabai's side. But the defection of some of her ministers, headed by the Chitnis and the Senapati on the battlefield of Khed, gave Shahu an advantage which he readily improved by trading upon the traditional respect of the Hindus for the law of primogeniture in matters of royal succession. Shivaji had, it is said, himself thought of excluding Shahu's impetuous father from succession. Rajaram had practically re-established his kingdom and his son, for whom Tarabai was acting as Regent, had the best claims to the throne. But the generals who had taken the oath of allegiance to Tarabai forsook her for reasons best known to themselves and Tarabai lost the Gadi of Satara. But she was not a woman who would yield to difficulties. Being defeated at Khed by the treachery of her own generals and statesmen, she repaired to the ancient Fort of Panhala which protects Kolhapur on the north-west at

a distance of twelve miles and was for many years of strife and struggle the virtual capital of the Kolhapur Raj. From this hill-fort, she carried on a protracted war with Shahu until he was forced in the year 1731 to enter into a treaty with Kolhapur and recognise the independence of the Kolhapur Raj with honours, dignities and authority equal to those of Satara itself.

Thus it was that the Kolhapur Raj came into being. Its future history was not, however, destined to be one of unhampered prosperity. The misfortunes which befell the Chhatrapati House at Satara owing to the rise of the Peshwas to power, could not leave Kolhapur unaffected and it was only with the aid of that indomitable spirit of independence which Tarabai handed down to Kolhapur that the Kolhapur Raj could manage to survive the attempts made by the Peshwas to crush it. On the death of Shahu without leaving a successor, the best chance of uniting the two Houses presented itself. Balaji, the Peshwa, had secretly pledged himself in the beginning of his career to support the succession of Maharaja Sambhaji of Kolhapur to the Satara Gadi as Shahu did not expect to leave a son of his own. But he never meant to keep the promise he had made and, when the opportunity arrived, he thwarted with all his strength the scheme of those who wished to unite the two kingdoms. His probable object in entering into this secret pact with Sambhaji was to obtain from him the Ministership of Kolhapur for his brother Sadashirao. But Sambhaji very wisely refused to allow the history of Satara to be repeated in Kolhapur and Balaji had now no motive to support Sambhaji. Queen Sagunabai wished that a boy from the Nagpur Bhosales, with whom she was connected, should be adopted as a son by Shahu. Upon her death, Sakwarbai, another Queen of Shahu, supported the same proposal. But the Peshwa did not wish that this should take place. Raghuji Bhosale and his Maratha friends, like the Dabhades and the Gaikwads, were bent upon dis-

placing Balaji who could in no case agree to the adoption of a son of the Bhosales who would be a tool in the hands of these enemies of his. At the instigation, therefore, of the Peshwa, a boy named Ramraja was set up as the son of Shivaji, the son of Tarabai, and his claims were pressed upon Shahu's attentions. Sakwarbai advised Sambhaji of Kolhapur to join with the Nagpur Bhosale party, adopt a boy from it as he had no son, and claim the Gadi of Satara as Shahu had by that time died without making an adoption. It was thus a race of the two masterful Ranees for power. The Peshwa deceived both and usurped all power in the State. We need not go into the details of the intrigues and treachery which followed Shahu's death. The brutal murder of Sakwarbai and the imprisonment of Tarabai frustrated all hopes of the two branches being united and cleared the way of the Peshwa who straightway put the new boy-king of Satara into custody at the Fort of his capital and became the virtual master of the Mahratta Empire. Maharaja Sambhaji of Kolhapur was now the next game to be hunted by Balaji and his Chitpawan friends. Though the Treaty of Warna recognised the sovereignty of Kolhapur over the whole territory to the south of the junction of the Krishna and Warna, the Peshwas never peacefully allowed its rulers to exercise their control over this territory. Though, again, that Treaty allowed Sambhaji to claim a full half share in all conquests to the south of Tungabhadra, the Peshwas would not allow Kolhapur to participate either in the invasions of that territory or in the gains accruing therefrom. On the contrary every attempt was made by the Poona authorities after the death of Shahu to wrest as much as possible from the principality of Kolhapur and the Patwardhan States were created for the avowed purpose of accomplishing this object. Endless quarrels followed in the course of which Sambhaji, who had fortunately a long life, defended his Raj with a tenacity and bravery which few among the Marathas have ever surpassed. At one time,

the well-disciplined armies of Mahadji, who took pride in calling himself the servant of the Peshwa, invested Kolhapur and exacted a tribute. As if in return for this, the Maharaja defeated the best Brahmin general of his age, Parashrambhau of Tasgaon, killed him in battle and shook the Poona Court to its foundations. The trained armies of Daulatrao Scindia were sent to Kolhapur under the command of European Officers. The resistance which Sambhaji offered to the combined forces of the Brahmin Rulers of Poona and their Sardars, seconded by Scindia's wife Bayajabai and her father Surjerao Ghatge of Kagal, enabled Sambhaji to maintain the State intact. It was the final overthrow of the Peshwas' power in 1818 which freed Kolhapur from the constant menace of the Peshwas and their generals.

CHAPTER II.

The Dark Days of Kolhapur.

The Assassination of Sambhaji—The Treaty of 1826—A large slice cut—The two Rivals—The Treaty of 1862—Its Results—The long period of Minorities—Kolhapur in 1882.

THE assassination of Sambhaji *alias* Abasaheb Maharaj on the 17th July, 1821, was the signal for the commencement of a series of intrigues and disturbances which culminated in the loss to the State of a large part of its prestige, dignity and power. To the royal house of the Chhatrapatis, all the years from 1821 to 1894, when Shri Shahu Maharaja was entrusted with the administration of his State, were years of misfortunes succeeding misfortunes. To the subjects of the Raj and to the administration itself, more than the early half of this period was a period of equally great misfortunes. We are not concerned in these memoirs with all the detailed history of the factious quarrels, the tyrannies and the persecutions in which this period abounds. But it is necessary in this place to present to the reader an outline of the events which marred the pages of Kolhapur history for one important reason. The problems which confronted Shri Shahu Maharaja when he took over the affairs of his State in 1894 must be clearly understood before any attempt can be made to describe the work accomplished by him. These problems were not of his making. Nor were they the outcome of circumstances unconnected with the events of the preceding age of darkness which, as I have said above, began with the murder of Abasaheb Maharaj. This period constituted the background on which Shahu Chhatrapati had to draw the scenes of his life. A brief

resumé of its history must, therefore, precede the narrative of his career.

As in most oriental states, the death of the King Sambhaji at the hands of an assassin gave rise to a prolific crop of intrigues and factions. He left behind him his infant son Balasaheb and his younger brother Shahaji who came to be known in Kolhapur history as Buwasaheb Maharaja. Needless to say the two parties had their own supporters in their claims to the Gadi. Luckily for Buwasaheb, Balasaheb died within a few months of the death of his father. But Buwasaheb could not resist the temptation of following a policy of revenge against his late rival's supporters. This was not all. The murderer of Sambhaji was a relative of the Ghatges of Kagal and had other friends among the leading men of the Darbar. Suspicion involved all of them in that foul attack on the life of the deceased Maharaja and each one of them became a victim to the wrath of Buwasaheb. Among these victims were the old foes of the Maharaja, the Jahagirdars of Ichalkaranji and Kagal, Bhau Maharaj and Baba Maharaj, the hereditary preceptors of the Royal Family. Their appeals to the British Government, then carried on in the name of the East India Company, paved the way for that Government's intervention in the affairs of Buwasaheb who had already incurred the displeasure of the Company's servants by his attempt to assist the rebels of Kittur as well as by his acts of depredation and plunder in British Territories adjoining the Kolhapur State. The result was the Treaty of 1826 whereby the Chhatrapati undertook to reduce his army, lest he should "endanger the public tranquillity within or without his territories." The Jahagirdars who had appealed to the Government had to be given a guarantee of safety. No asylum was to be afforded to the enemies of the British Government or to any rebels or criminals from that Government's territories. The fertile Talukas of Chikodi and Manoli were no doubt to remain with the Maharaja; but that was allowed only on condition that

the alienees of Inams and Watans should not be molested and that the injuries inflicted by the Maharaja during the course of his misdeeds might be compensated for to the satisfaction of the British authorities. These conditions were soon violated and the two Talukas were resumed by the British Government. Thus the Maharaja had under this Treaty to pay the first price of his follies by a considerable diminution of his powers as an independent sovereign, though, thanks to the non-intervention policy of those days, the Treaty provided that these conditions did not in any way "diminish the independence of the said Raja as a Sovereign Prince."

The lesson which this Treaty should have taught was, however, entirely lost on Buwasaheb. His failure to fulfil the terms of the Treaty in respect of Chikodi and Manoli and the continued molestation of peaceful subjects of the Raja as well as the British Government led to another Treaty in the year 1827 whereby all hopes of the two ceded Talukas being restored to Kolhapur were dashed to pieces, the army of the State was definitely limited to 400 cavalry and 800 infantry, the guarantee in favour of certain Jahagirdars was renewed, Akiwat—the notorious rendezvous of thieves and outlaws—was handed over to the British, and, above all, the Chhatrapati agreed to accept a Karbhari of the Government's nomination. Drastic though this Treaty undoubtedly was, the state of affairs in the Raj did not improve even after 1827. The loss of Chikodi and Manoli entailed a heavy cut in the Revenues of the State; but expenditure continued still to be incurred on the old scale. An attempt to regain his lost powers made by Buwasaheb in his visit to Belgaum in 1830 ended in a fiasco and made matters worse. Had it not been for the services of Ramrao Akbarnis, the Karbhari appointed by the Government, the accidental revolver shot by a servant of the Maharaja while the latter was in conference with the Political Officer at Belgaum would have been the death-blow to all hopes of Buwasaheb being ever restored to the Gadi of

his State. In fact, the Maharaja had been asked to leave Belgaum without the insignia of his position and the Commanding Officer of the British forces then at Kolhapur had been ordered to deny the Maharaja the right to re-enter the gates of Kolhapur. To Ramrao must be given the credit of helping Buwasaheb out of this degradation. But true to the superstitions of the age, the Maharaja ascribed his ultimate success to the family Goddess of Tuljapur and when he was on a pilgrimage to that ancient shrine, he breathed his last on 29th November 1838.

Unfortunate as the reign of Buwasaheb was for the people and the Raj of Kolhapur, even worse days had yet to dawn on them. Buwasaheb left behind him Shivaji alias Babasaheb Maharaj as his successor. Shivaji was, however, a child of barely eight summers and this was enough in Kolhapur for a new and abundant crop of the ever-growing intrigues and the resultant misfortunes. Maharani Anandibai alias Tarasaheb, being the mother of Balasaheb, was the natural Regent of the minor Raja's State. But she had in Saibai alias Diwansaheb an ambitious and powerful rival to the honours and authority of the guardian of the minor Prince. Tarasaheb was assisted by Jeorao Jadhav and Moropant Huzurbazar while Diwansaheb was seconded by Dinkarrao Gaikwad and Raoji Waknis. An honest effort on the part of Ramrao resulted in a compromise under which the two factions formed a temporary coalition ministry. But this patched up peace did not and could not last long. Had the two sides been equally powerful, endless chaos arising out of equally endless frictions and conflicts would have been the fate of the Raj. As it was, the Diwansaheb party led by Dinkarrao Gaikwad was the more masterful of the two and after some vain efforts, the Tarasaheb party was overpowered and Diwansaheb with her favourite ministers became the dominant factor in the affairs of Kolhapur. And how did they use the opportunity which they had thus won?

Buwasaheb had already given away two-thirds of his State in Jahagirs and Inams and what remained under the direct control of the Maharaja was sunk in poverty and misery for which misrule was primarily responsible. Under Diwansaheb, the revenues of the Raj amounted to no more than three lakhs while the ordinary expenditure exceeded one and a half times as much and debts amounted to many times the normal revenue of the State. No wonder that these burdens on the finances of the Raj were increasing day by day. The new requirements of administration due to British influence in Kolhapur gave the Brahmins new opportunities for self-aggrandisement. Though the Gaikwad occupied the first place in the counsels of the Diwansaheb, he was perfectly illiterate and had to depend entirely on Raoji Waknis and other Brahmin clerks for carrying on the work of Government. As was but natural, the ambition of Diwansaheb, the impudence and intrigues of Dinkarrao Gaikwad and the machinations of Waknis and company made Kolhapur confusion worse confounded. It was under this administration that the Brahmin priest forced the Lingayats and Jains of the State to appeal for British intervention against the religious domination of the Brahmin priests who claimed to have the same right to ride on the back of these communities as they had been doing in the case of the Non-Brahmin Hindus. A British Officer visited Kolhapur in 1842 and tried to set matters right without taking the drastic step of depriving Diwansaheb and her favourites of their power. Finding that this was of no avail, the dismissal of Gaikwad and Waknis was insisted on and refused for some months. This was the last straw that broke the camel's back. The Government's patience was by nowcompletely exhausted with the result that in 1844 Diwansaheb was deprived of all her powers, Gaikwad was removed from the State and Daji Pandit, an officer under the British Government, was appointed Karbhari of the State.

The end of the evil days of Kolhapur was not yet come. Inspired by the best of motives, Pandit's attempts to build Rome in a day led to a rebellion which had to be put down by the British Government with the help of its army at a cost of fifteen lakhs, a new burden on the already overburdened Treasury of the State. It was a lucky thing that this was the worst of the evils which the misguided hereditary servants of the Kolhapur State in the capital as well as in the Hill Forts of Panhala, Samangad, Bhudargad and others, brought upon their Raj and their Leigelord. These Gadkaris, the hereditary guards of the Forts, had imbibed all the stupid notions about their own strength and importance which are the natural result of the hereditary system and when Daji Pandit began to break down the system to some extent, the Gadkaris, and other similar servants of the Raj rose in open revolt. The success with which this class of servants from the Feudatory Jahagirdars like the Pratinidhi of Vishalgad to the lowest Mirasdars who performed no better duties than those of menials had defied the authority of the Chhatrapati for many generations past, stiffened their backs on this occasion too, with the result that the Forts had to be stormed with the help of British guns and the magnificent walls of these historic Forts, the relics of medievalism in India, had to be dismantled. Another misfortune of a far graver character, the annexation of the Kolhapur Raj and the consequent complete destruction of Shivaji's work, now confronted the State. But the good offices of Colonel Reeves, who pointed out the perfect innocence of the Maharaja and his family to the Government, saved the Raj from the fate which many a State had to share in those days. Major Graham became the first Political Superintendent of Kolhapur with the entire charge of the administration on his shoulders and it was decided that the Maharaja should remain content all his life with a grant of Rs. 80,000 a year for the Khasgi. A similar danger of annexation after the mutiny of 1857 was

avoided by the good sense of the young Maharaja, though a step-brother Chimasaheb was suspected of some complicity with a few sporadic revolts at Kolhapur and had to be deported to Karachi.

Babasaheb had to live a life of hopelessness until the year 1862 when another Agreement with the British Government opened the way of the Maharaja to the exercise of powers, though they were now hedged in on all sides by the terms and stipulations contained in the Agreement. Comparing this Agreement with its predecessor, Sir William LeeWarner describes it as "still more submissive and indeed an exceptionally severe agreement." The object of the Treaty was no doubt not to infringe the "seignorial rights of the Raja, but merely to secure good government and to prevent those disputes which in old days were frequently the cause of disturbance and bloodshed." The Treaty, however, provided that with this object in view the Karbhari should for some time at least be nominated by the Government, that the Khasgi should always be separate from the State, that no new grants of lands or villages should be made till all the debts were paid off, that the residuary jurisdiction in the Feudatory Jahagirdars should vest in the British Government, that capital punishment should be subject to sanction by Government and that the Raja should abide by the advice given in all important matters. As a result of the misfortunes of Kolhapur during this period, misfortunes some of which were obviously beyond the control of human efforts but many of which were the results of human follies and weaknesses, this Agreement was a boon to Kolhapur. It checked the over-generous instincts of the Chhatrapatis to make grants and gifts out of all proportion to their own resources and calculated to increase and strengthen the class of Watandars whom the Founder of the Mahratta Empire so wisely and scrupulously avoided and who weakened the authority of the Chhatrapatis as much at Satara as at Kolhapur. It may

His Highness Shri Shivaji *alias* Babasaheb Chhatrapati Maharaj.

also be argued that the Treaty, exceptionally severe as it clearly was, was the only alternative to what was a virtual, though not a nominal, annexation of the State. Experience of more than two generations of the Durbaris in the State had proved beyond dispute that the task of putting down their inveterate tendencies to low intrigue and factiousness was, to say the best of it, a very difficult one indeed. It was not one caste or class that was specially prone to these tendencies. Long after the events of these years, LeeWarner, that so-called arch-*Brahmanophobe*, wrote in one of his letters to Shri Shahu Chhatrapati that the Brahmin intrigue was not the only intrigue and that "I have found Marathas and other classes quite equal to it." If writing with some experience in Kolhapur itself, Sir William LeeWarner could pass this verdict in 1895, it is hardly to be wondered at that precautions had to be adopted for the purpose of guarding the administration of Babasaheb Maharaja from a recrudescence of the intrigue that blackened the pages of past history. But it must be remembered that there was another side to the picture. Whatever may have been the justification of some of the terms of the Agreement, the treatment it offered to the Jahagirdars of the Raj was such as to encourage them in their desire to be independent of their master, the Maharaja Saheb. All of them, big as well as small, were anxious to emulate the example of the great Jahagirdars of the Peshwa like the Scindia, the Holkar and the Gaikwad who had sometimes tried to be the *de facto* masters of their *de jure* liege-lords at Poona and finally had successfully established their independence of the confederacy to which they owed their birth. The Jahagirdars of Kolhapur, smaller indeed than these Subhedars of Malwa and Gujarat, bore the same proportion to the size of the Kolhapur Raj which the Gaikwads and Holkars bore to the kingdom of the Peshwas. Their attempts to assert independence were a source of great embarrassment and weakness to the Chhatrapatis. While the Agreement of

1862 rightly aimed a blow at the intrigues of lesser men for power in the State, it encouraged the Jahagirdars, already anxious to raise their own status at the cost of the prestige of the Chhatrapatis, to carry on their own intrigues against the Raja whose servants they were and should have been proud to remain. Their notions of self-importance grew to enormous proportions as time passed on until in 1895 (23rd October) the Jahagirdar of Ichalkaranji had the audacity to insist that when he visited Kolhapur, the Chhatrapati should receive him at one of the city gates, an honour which even the representative of the British Government in Kolhapur had never been accorded. The Maharaja had only to avoid the question at that early stage of his life by expressing his regret that " on account of other engagements he will not be able to receive the chief of Ichalkaranji to-morrow as requested by him." The story of the herculean efforts that Shri Shahu Chhatrapati had to make before recovering anything like the original dignity of his forefathers in their relations with their own servants will follow in its proper place. But the point here is that by relaxing the hold of the Raja on his feudatories, the Treaty gave an unnecessary blow to the prestige of the Maharajas which it was impolitic to give.

The death of Babasaheb Maharaj very soon after the Agreement—on August 4, 1866—followed as it was by another unhappy period of minorities, administrations and regencies which ended only in 1894, led to another class of evils which also it fell to the lot of Shri Shahu Maharaja to remove. The day previous to his death, Babasaheb had adopted as his son Shri Rajaram Maharaj, who came from the family of the Patankars and was closely related to Babasaheb being the son of the latter's sister Princess Aubaisaheb, who was married to Meherban Ramchandrarao Patankar. After giving very high promise of a noble character, Rajaram Maharaj met an untimely death at the age of twenty-two in distant Florence while he was on his way back from England. H. H. Chhatrapati

His Highness Shri Rajaram Chhatrapati Maharaj.

Shivaji IV, also adopted in the royal family, nominally occupied the Gadi from the death of Rajaram Maharaj in 1870 (November 30) to his miserable, almost heart-breaking, end on December 25, 1883. The story of this ill-starred Prince is one of the saddest recorded by human history and perhaps the only parallel to it may be found in the sad fate of the boy-prince Auther as depicted by Shakspeare. The story has never been written as it should be. Enough here to say that two-spirited journalists of Poona, whose motives were beyond question and cavil, unfolded in the columns of their papers a tale of woes and miseries which the poor boy-Maharaja was suffering in captivity, a tale which indeed could not then and could never in fact be proved in a Court of Law. It is said that the Prince had in him the symptoms of madness. The remedy was his separation from all that was near and dear to him, his young wife and old parents. What his wife's wishes were, I do not know; but it is beyond doubt from the Records of the State that his father tried hard and tried repeatedly to obtain permission to stay with his son. He urged that he had given away his son in adoption on condition that the father and son might live together. All these entreaties were in vain. Instead of the soothing balm of love and affection which Dinkarrao Bhosale, the father, wished to apply to the troubled mind of the boy, the Prince was given captivity in the Fort of Ahmednagar under the guardianship of a soldier. He wanted food and was given stones. Proud and masterful by nature, everything was done to humiliate him. As if that was not enough to break the proud heart of the Chhatrapati, Rao Bahadur Barve, whom the Prince wholly disliked, and one Private Green were entrusted with the care of the uneasy youth who was ultimately declared insane and as a result of a scuffle between the soldier and the Maharaja, the enlarged spleen of the latter was fatally ruptured and the Kolhapur Gadi became once mroe vacant.

A few extracts from the official reports will show how the tragedy developed and ended :—

The Political Agent says :—

"On the 2nd December last I visited Ahmednagar in the course of my cold weather tour and there saw His Highness the late Maharaja and his guardian Mr. Birch, the Collector, the Civil Surgeon Dr. De Tatham and the Superintendent of Police. His Highness then was suffering from a little fever but seemed otherwise healthy and was quiet in his demeanour. He recognised me and twice during the day I had some conversation with him. From the enquiries I made of Mr. Birch and Dr. De Tatham and from my personal inspection of His Highness' quarters and general surroundings, I satisfied myself that all was going on well. Little did I anticipate that the end of his life was so near at hand."

"On Thursday morning, the 25th December, the Regent, the Acting Diwan and I escorted His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief on his way to Satara as far as the spot where the road from Sangli and Miraj joins on to the mail road. When we returned to the Residency, as I alighted in the porch, a telegram was placed in my hands announcing the death of His Highness Shivaji IV, at eight that very morning. This was at half past nine. The Regent, Khan Saheb Meherjibhai, the Acting Diwan and I at once held a consultation and decided to go straight to the palace and break the sad news to Their Highnesses, the Ranees, including the youthful widow of the deceased prince."

"A post-mortem examination at Ahmednagar showed that death was caused by rupture of diseased spleen and the result of an elaborate inquiry held into the circumstances connected with His Highness' sudden demise by Mr. Jopp was that no blame attached to Private Green, the attendant, who was held to have clearly acted within his duty in restraining the patient from an ebullition of violence and who adopted measures for this purpose which in no way indicated

His Highness Shri Shivaji IV Chhatrapati Maharaj.

any want of command over his own temper. The ashes of His late Highness were brought to Kolhapur on the 30th December, by a deputation specially sent to Ahmednagar for that purpose; on their arrival, a procession was formed and they were escorted to a temple on the bank of the Punchganga River with every mark of respect."

I have not hitherto referred to the various improvements in administration effected by the Political Superintendents, Political Agents, the Regent Shrimant Abasaheb Ghatge of Kagal and the Council of Administration which followed the Regent's death in 1885. It is not within the scope of this work to attempt anything of the kind. But it is proper that we should note one or two features of this period which influenced the life of His Highness Shri Shahu Chhatrapati Maharaja to a very considerable extent. The administrative machinery was no doubt brought into line with the advanced system in vogue in British India for which the thanks of the entire State were due to the various Political Officers who were successively at the helm of affairs during these years. The Revenue was increased and large balances were secured in the balance-sheet of each new year as it came. Some of the finest edifices which to-day adorn the city of Kolhapur were the result of these annual surpluses. The departments of State were ultimately under the control of the Political Officer at the Agency. The more immediate heads of the departments of State were in more cases than one Europeans like Messrs. Shannon and Sinclair, Mrs. Parr and Miss Little. But theirs were Departments like Medicine, Sanitation, Public Works and Female Education. The bulk of the personnel, however, of these and all other departments came to be Brahmins imported into the State from outside. No attempt was made to improve or utilise indigenous talent. The influx of outsiders drove the ruling classes of the State out of the field. Practically the whole Administration became Brahmanised. And what hope was there for the Maratha and other communities,

of the State who formed its chief population? At the end of 1881, shortly before the adoption of Shahu Chhatrapati and almost at the end of the *regime* of Rao Bahadur Barve, the literacy of the Brahmin community stood at 79.1, while that of the Marathas was 8.6, that of the Kunbis was 1.5, that of the Mussalmans was 7.5, and of the Jains and Lingayats nearly 10.6. The educational policy of these years, obviously a failure from the view-point of the non-Brahmins, continued till the close of the interregnum on April 2, 1894, with the same evil results still further aggravated. It was such a State and such a society that His Highness Shahu Chhatrapati was called upon to rule when he was adopted as a successor to the unfortunate Maharaja Shivaji IV.

(1) His Highness, (2) Shri Bapusaheb, (3) Mr. Ingle & (4) Kakasaheb.

CHAPTER III.

Early Years.

The companions of the Maharaja—The Ghatges of Kagal—The Adoption—Abasaheb's ideas about his son's education—The idea of education in England given up—Progress under Mr. Fitzgerald—Abasaheb's untimely death.

HIS HIGHNESS SHRI SHAHU CHHATRAPATI MAHARAJA, then the eldest son of Shrimant Jayasingrao Abasaheb, the Chief of Kagal (Senior), was born on July 26, 1874. His younger brother Pirajirao alias Bapusaheb, who became the eldest son and successor of the Chief of Kagal on the adoption of his elder brother by Her Highness Maharani Anandibaisaheb, was born on January 3, 1876. The two brothers, it need hardly be said, were companionsin all their varied vicissitudes of life till the last moment of the Maharaja's wordly career. The Maharaja's second companion, Dattajirao alias Kakasaheb, the Chief of Kaga (Junior) and step-brother of Jayasingrao Abasaheb in his natural family, was born only three weeks before the Maharaja, on July 7, 1874. Owing to his father's demise in July 1881, Kakasaheb became the ward of Abasaheb and the three little children were placed under the care of their first tutors Mr. H. S. Gokhale and Mr. L. B. Vaze. Very little is known of their early days. When quite a child of three years, the Maharaja had an attack of convulsions which proved all but fatal. Having survived it, however, the Maharaja grew into a stout and sturdy boy for which the credit was due to the hard physical training given to the boys by Shrimant Abasaheb. The credulous companions of his childhood say that the traditional serpent gave an unmistakable indication

of the coming greatness of Yeshavantrao by spreading the Chhatra (umbrella) of its wide hood on him when he was still in bed. Another story, told by a less superstitious servant, was that a Brahmin astrologer, little known and less caring to be known, told the attendants of the child that the child was destined to be a Chhatrapati but, though others tried their best to find out this wonderful fortune-teller again, no one could trace him ever afterwards. Such obliging cobras and disinterested readers of the future are common to the early days of many great men in the East, and it is unnecessary to do more than refer to them as illustrations of the beliefs and superstitions of the age they lived in. A more interesting story is that Abasaheb was asked to give his younger son to the Chhatrapati family, as that would be more in consonance with the requirements of the shastras. But Yeshvantrao looked a simpler and less intelligent boy and Abasaheb preferred to retain his cleverer son for the smaller State and leave the less clever to be cared for by the larger Raj. If this story is true, we may defy the poet and say that the child is not father to the man.

When Maharaja Shivaji IV died at the end of 1883 at Ahmednagar, his consort, Maharani Anandibai, in consultation with Maharani Sakawarbai, the widow of the late Maharaja Rajaram Chhatrapati and thus the eldest member of the royal family, decided to adopt this fortunate boy as the son and successor of her late husband. A son of the premier member of the Kolhapur aristocracy, he was also the grandson of princess Balabai, the second sister of Chhatrapati Shivaji alias Babasaheb Maharaja, than whom a nearer relation by blood to the Chhatrapatis of Kolhapur was not in existence. An argument was later on based, as we shall see when we come to discuss the Vedokta controversy, on the Maharaja's being originally a member of the Ghatge family of Kagal. A few facts about the history of the Ghatges will show that there existed in Maharashtra no family which had a better title to

Shri Jayasingrao Abasaheb Ghatge Sarjerao Vazarat-ma-ab, Chief of Kagal.
The father of His Highness.

His Highness' mother, Shri Radhabaisaheb Maharaj.

aristocratic status than they. A branch of the well-known "Rathor" family of Rajputs came to the Deccan in the fourteenth century to seek their fortune here. They soon became the headmen of Padli (in the Satara District) and distinguished themselves by their feats of arms. Kamaraj, a youth belonging to this Rajput family, won the favour of the Sultans of Bedar by ringing a Ghat or bell, hung high above the reach of ordinary men, by taking a double jump in the air. The Sultan gave him a military post and called him a Ghatge, since which the family has borne that name. Ferishta mentions the Ghatges as honoured Mansabdars or hereditary officers in the Courts of Bedar as well as Kalburga. After the fall of these kingdoms, the Ghatges joined the service in Bijapur and on Bhanaji Ghatge defeating a rebel chief (Desai) of the Kagal Paragana, the Sultan gave him the conquered District in Inam in 1572 A.D. Shivaji confirmed the grant in 1664 and conferred a new Sanad on Piraji Ghatge. Since then the Ghatges have taken a prominent part in Mahratta history in various ways. Sakharamrao Ghatge distinguished himself in the Court of Daulatrao Scindia who had married Bayajabai, the talented daughter of Sakharamrao. Bayajabai wielded great influence in the Scindia's Court owing to her exceptional intelligence. It was the influence of this Ghatge which saved the Kolhapur State from the disastrous consequences of the attacks of the Patwardhan-Phadnis league in 1801. Sakharamrao's son Hindurao was a famous general in the Scindia's camp and his honoured name is still associated with the Ridge at Delhi, a part of which is still named after him. In the mutiny in connection with which the Ridge has become so memorable in the history of British India, the Hindurao Palace on the Ridge became the headquarters of the British troops. This Hindurao obtained the title of Vajarat-maab from the Maharaja of Kolhapur for useful help given by him in the feuds which went on in those days between Kolhapur and the Nipani-Desai.

A sister of the Maharaja was married to Vishwasrao Ghatge, a member of the same family, who had shown his great military skill on the battlefield of Pattankudi where Parashurambhau Patwardhan was defeated and killed in 1799. The Maharaja gave him the Bhudargad Fort in return for this service in 1801.

Jayasingrao Abasaheb—the Maharaja's father in the Ghatge family—was born on March 12, 1857, in this ancient Rathor family of the Rajput class. He received his education in the company of Babasaheb Maharaj whose sister Akkasaheb Maharaj was the mother of Jayasingaro. In 1864 he married Radhabaisaheb, the only daughter of the Rajesaheb of Mudhol, another old Kshatriya family of Maharashtra. Yeshvantrao Babasaheb was born from this marriage in 1874. Radhabaisaheb died in 1877 leaving behind her Yeshavantrao—a child of three and Pirajirao Bapusaheb—a child of hardly one year. Abasaheb was invested with the full powers of his chiefship in 1878 and when it was found that there was no hope of an early recovery of Maharaja Shivaji IV, he was appointed Regent of Kolhapur in March 1882. The British Government bestowed upon him the honour of a nine guns salute in recognition of the excellent work done by him at Kolhapur. Born of such a historic stock of the Kshatriya order, Yeshavantrao was the only one who could claim a close kindredship with the Chhatrapati House and the choice of the Ranis could not have been different from that which they made. The Bombay Government having set the seal of their approval on this choice on February 22, 1884, the Political Agent at once drove to the Palace accompanied by the Regent and informed the Maharani Anandibaisaheb and the other ladies of the family of this happy news. The whole town immediately indulged in rejoicings. The ceremony was appointed to take place on the 17th of March. The citizens, high and low, voted addresses of congratulations. The Sarvajanik-Sabha of

Poona, the most influential political association of those days in the Deccan, also joined in the festivities. As the address presented by that Sabha observed :—

"The accession to the throne of a new sovereign is naturally an occasion of great rejoicings to those who have to live under his rule and to his well-wishers abroad. There are peculiar circumstances which distinguished the present celebration from similar rejoicings on former occasions. For the past fifteen years owing to the untimely death in a foreign land of Rajaram Maharaj, and the ill-health of the late unfortunate Shivaji Maharaja, Kolhapur has been associated in the national mind with great misfortunes which filled the whole country with anxiety and lamentation."

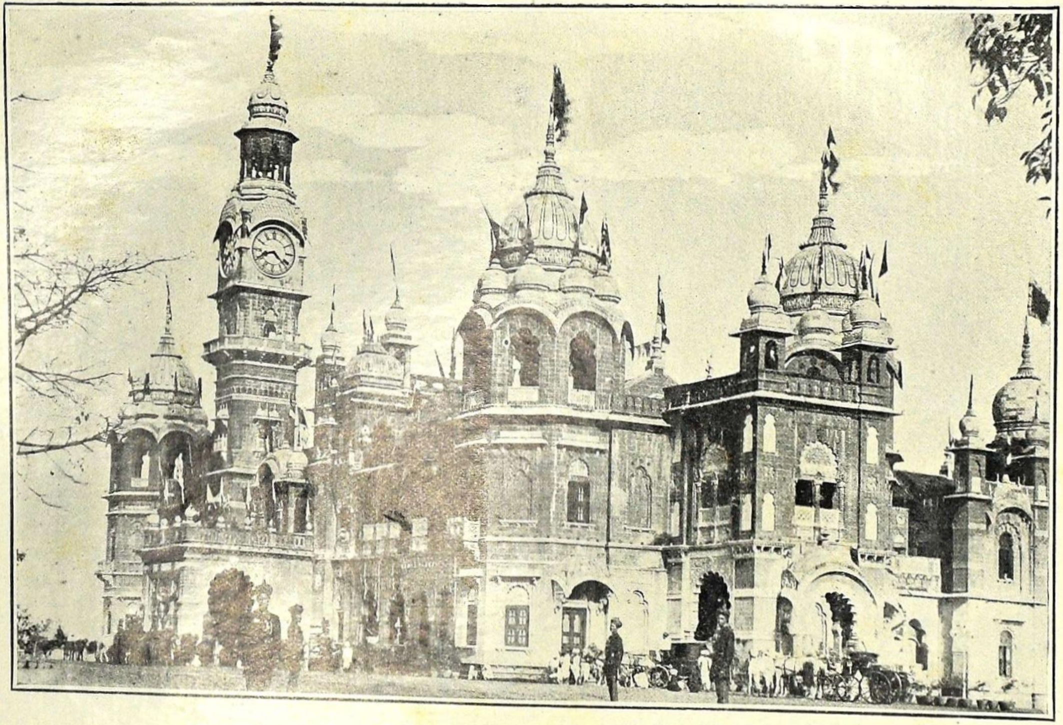
These feelings of "anxiety and lamentation" were the result of the serious misfortunes which have been briefly described in the preceding chapter. The months of waiting that intervened between the death of Shivaji IV and the end of February filled the people not only of Kolhapur but far outside the limits of the State with misgivings about the future of the Raj "in which," as the Regent put it in his reply to the Sabha, "is symbolised in modified shape the traditional greatness of the Maratha race." The feelings of the people of Kolhapur were appropriately expressed by their representatives who, in the course of an address presented by them, described the situation in these words :—

"The Kolhapur State is an important Maratha principality in the Western Presidency, and the close connection of the royal family with the great House of Shivaji has made its varying fortunes an object of affectionate and abiding interest in the whole of Maharashtra. The public waited with anxious expectation to see what action the British Government intended to take in putting an end to this interregnum caused by the unfortunate death of the late Maharaja of Kolhapur. We now feel no hesitation in saying that the choice of a Prince, which Their Highnesses the Ranis have made with the approval of

Government, will give satisfaction to all right-minded and right-thinking people. It is a singularly happy and appropriate selection. No one is more nearly allied to the Royal Family of Kolhapur than your noble self. The elevation, therefore, of your son to the Kolhapur throne is most natural, and at the same time most acceptable to the people."

No pains were spared to make the beginning of the new era acceptable to the people of Kolhapur Raj. Prejudices had been created and superstitions had been brought into existence for the ostensible purpose of explaining away the misfortunes of the Raj and the Raja family. Special care was bestowed on the removal of these prejudices. In describing the steps taken with this object in view, Colonel Reeves says:—

"The death of three Rajas of Kolhapur within a comparatively speaking short time gave rise, as was to be expected, to many superstitious ideas and stories in the town. Amongst others I found that the ill-luck of the Royal Family was very generally attributed to the fact that some portions of the remains of (1) His Highness Shivaji III, (2) Her Highness Jijabai Saheb, widow of Sambhaji alias Abasaheb Maharaj, (3) Kamala-Baisaheb Maharaj, widow of Shahaji alias Bava Saheb Maharaja, (4) Soonderabai Saheb Maharaj, widow of Shivaji III, (5) Sakwarbai Saheb Maharaj, wife of Chimasaheb alias Shahu Maharaja, were still lying buried in the enclosure of the mortuary temple of Bhosale family at Kolhapur and had not been disposed of according to the sacred rites set forth in the Shastras. I, therefiore, took the opportunity of suggesting the despatch of these remains with the ashes of His late Highness Shivaji IV to Benares to be there dealt with in a befitting manner. The incident abovementioned is in itself trivial, but I notice it to show that under the present *regime* everything has been done on the occasion of our commencing a new chapter in the history of this State to meet the views and even the prejudices of the people and to begin the reign of the new Prince under the most auspicious circumstances."



The New Palace, the Official Residence of the Chhatrapatis.

The ceremony of adoption and installation took place on the appointed day amidst hearty rejoicings. The crowds that celebrated the occasion at Kolhapur, excluding the citizens of the capital itself, numbered seventy thousand. The following account is taken with slight variations from an official report :—

On the day appointed at dawn, the Regent proceeded in State with the Raja—designate to the Palace where the ceremony of adoption according to the Shastras commenced at 7 a.m. The father of the child-Regent Abasaheb and the adoptee's mother, Her Highness Maharani Anandibai Saheb, having duly fasted by proxy the previous day, the former was formally asked for and consented to give up his son who was then anointed, bathed and dressed in sacred clothes. 'The Punyahwachana' ceremony was gone through at which the presence of Ganpati and other tutelary deities was invoked. The Hom (sacred fire) was next lighted. The Regent poured water on the hands of the Ranee which signified that he gave his son to her and she on her part went through the ceremony of 'Mastakawagrahana' (head smelling), *i.e.*, placed her nose on the head of the boy where the sutures of the skull are not joined at birth, the act being considered tantamount to bringing forth a son. The boy was then placed in the lap of his adoptive mother by whom and by the other Ranees he was given sugar and the name of Shahu Maharaj was bestowed upon him. The Ranee and her adopted son were taken before the image of Ambabai for the usual worship of that family deity and afterwards the Raja was conducted to and seated on the Kolhapur Gadi when his name and titles were proclaimed by heralds and a salute of 19 guns was fired. The Maharaja then received the homage and offerings of his Sirdars, Mankaris and officials and the presents of the S. M. C. and other chiefs of whom the Chiefs of Akalkot, Mudhol, Miraj senior, Kurundwad senior and junior, Ramdurg, etc., were present on the occasion. These ceremonies were witnessed

by the Political Agent and his assistants; other European ladies and gentlemen who had come to the Palace for the purpose, remained in the large Hall with the Chiefs and officials assembled there.

On the conclusion of the usual ceremonials, the Maharaja advanced into the body of the Hall and took his seat by the Political Agent on a couch, after which Mr. Agashe, President of the Kolhapur Municipality, came forward and read the address of the Municipality, which was presented to His Highness in a handsome silver case.

Shortly after this the usual *pan* and *supari* were given to all present, the assemblage having been entertained in the meanwhile by the singing of dancing girls. Accompanied by the Political Agent, the Regent, European Officers and ladies, the Maharaja adjourned to Nana Saheb Kagalkar's Wada where they were photographed by the State photographer. His Highness then proceeded to the Ambabai temple through crowds of eager spectators and mendicants to whom alms were distributed.

At noon, a dinner was given by the Regent to the European soldiers of the 1st Battalion, Rifle Brigade, stationed at Kolhapur. On the evening of the same day, a full dress darbar was held at 5 p.m. in the shamianas pitched for the purpose in the Residency compound for the reception of His Highness who came accompanied by the Political Agent and was received with honours due to his rank, a guard of honour of the Kolhapur Local Infantry under Lieut. Cates with the regimental band being drawn up to salute him on his arrival and departure. The Darbar was attended by the European Officers and ladies in the station, the Raja of Akalkot, most of the Chiefs in the S. M. Country, the feudatories, Sardars, Officials of the State and the members of the deputation of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, to whom the Political Agent presented the Maharaja and announced his adoption and installation.

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His Highness at 11 years.

The usual *pan* and *supari* brought the Darbar to a close. At 9 p.m. the same evening a grand display of fireworks took place on the banks of the Panchganga, a spot very well adapted for such a pyrotechnic exhibition. Tents were pitched and seats placed for the Raja, Chiefs, Sirdars and European ladies and gentlemen of the station on the extensive flight of stone steps close by the monumental temples of the former Rajas of Kolhapur. All available space was taken up by the crowds of spectators which had come to witness the fireworks admirably carried out by a manufacturer from Sholapur. During the night some of the principal public buildings and leading streets in the town were illuminated and thousands of people turned out to see the illuminations which were fairly successful. After the fireworks were over, the Maharaja drove through the streets from the river to the Palace viewing the illuminations. While passing through the triumphal arch erected near the Gangavesa, His Highness was greeted by school children with recitations of verses and showers of flowers.

On the 18th, the Kolhapur Local Infantry was entertained by the State at noon and in the evening at 4 p.m. all the boys, about 2,500 in number attending the public and private schools in Kolhapur, were fêted at the Babul Grove in the Maidan. The boys marched to the *fête* from the College building in a procession headed by the Band of the Kolhapur Local Infantry. His Highness the Maharaja honoured the occasion with his presence and was greeted by the boys with recitations of verses specially composed for the occasion. A dramatic performance of Shashikala and Ratnapal (an adaptation of Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet) was given at night by the students of the Rajaram College.

Thus ended the "protracted crisis," as Abasaheb put it, through which Kolhapur had to pass before Yeshavant Rao Babasaheb became a distinguished scion of the House of Shivaji the Great. But the new-born Prince was as yet only

ten years old and a period of waiting had yet to succeed. The Bombay Government in the exercise of the authority of their political guardianship of the Maharaja desired to give him proper education and training and in the very speech which Colonel Reeves, the Political Agent, delivered to the Installation Darbar on the day of adoption, he outlined the idea which the Regent and the Government entertained on this subject. After referring to the anxieties through which the State had passed and assuring the people of the constant solicitude of the Government for the welfare of the State, he said :—

"In the meanwhile it is intended to give His Highness the best education in order to fit him for the responsible position to which he has been raised. Abasaheb's ideas about bringing up his boys are more advanced than many people would suppose. He would wish to send his sons to England for six or seven years to be educated first at a good school and then at College and if, as regards the Raja, this programme or any part of it is carried out, we may hope to have in the person of His Highness a strong link between Englishmen and the natives of this country. A liberal education supplemented by extensive travel will enable the Raja with his influence and high position to introduce measures and ventilate ideas which might be liable to misconstruction if they emanated from Europeans."

Abasaheb was indeed a man of very liberal ideas. As soon as the festivities were over, he began to make proper arrangements for the education of the Maharaja and Bapu Saheb. Mr. K. B. Gokhale, a man of experience and fully trusted by Abasaheb whose tutor and subsequently Private Secretary he used for many years to be, was appointed as teacher to the Maharaja while Mr. H. B. Gokhale continued as teacher of Bapusaheb. Kakasaheb and Dattajirao Ingle (Junior) also formed members of the party whose education was carried on at Kolhapur by the teachers, under the super-

vision of Mr. Fitzgerald who joined his duties under orders from Government as the Superintendent of the education of His Highness the Maharaja on August 29, 1884. Belonging as he did to the Political Department, he cared more to be a companion of the Maharaja in his intended stay in England than to bother himself with the slow and laborious processes incidental to the training of a young Prince. He continued in his post until about the end of November 1885 by which time Abasaheb had finally decided that the Maharaja should not visit Europe so soon. The idea of the Maharaja spending several years in England, alluded to by Colonel Reeves in his Darbar speech, was dropped by Abasaheb himself in October 1885 when he was on a visit to that country. What experience in Europe induced him to change his mind, it is not easy to say. On his death-bed a little later on, the Regent told Mr. LeeWarner, who was then the Political Agent at Kolhapur, that "His Highness, his natural son, as well as his successor at Kagal, should proceed to England when they are sufficiently instructed in the English language at Rajkote." Apparently therefore the idea was dropped at this particular stage on the ground that the Princes were not yet able to avail themselves of the benefits of a stay in England owing to want of sufficient grounding in English.

Whatever the reason may have been, its immediate result was that Mr. Fitzgerald relinquished the charge of his office on November 25, 1885, and the Bombay Government decided that the Maharaja and his companions should proceed to Rajkote and join the Rajkumar College there. It was there that the boys received their training until about the middle of 1889, a period of three years and a half, when they were removed to Dharwar.

The progress made by the Maharaja under Mr. Fitzgerald may be described in the words of the tutor himself :—

"I should premise this report by stating that the Regent of Kolhapur bestowed a great deal of care on the education of

his children and that before the Maharaja was adopted, he had gone through most of the vernacular standards and commenced to learn English. His education and that of his companions had been conducted under the general supervision of Mr. Gokhale.

"After assuming charge of the Maharaja, my first step was to examine him with a view to ascertaining what he knew. I found that his vernacular education was very nearly up to that of boys of his own age in the Government schools, but Mr. Gokhale and I concurred in thinking that in English His Highness required more grounding.

"The Maharaja is now learning all the subjects of the 2nd Standard sanctioned by the Department of Public Instruction for Anglo-Vernacular Schools."

It is interesting to note that the young Maharaja is accused of being shy in the very first report of his tutor and the accusation is repeated by many of his companions. Though speaking after six months' experience, Mr. Fitzgerald thinks that "it would be premature at present to speak of the Maharaja's abilities" though "I may say that he is painstaking and anxious to learn." To those who knew how powerful a brain the Maharaja developed in his youth and manhood, such remarks would appear inconsistent with facts. But they in truth illustrate the eternal law of nature which lays down that solid growths are always slow growths and initial slowness does not always mean want of abilities but may be perfectly consistent with the possession of very high potentialities.

Leaving Kolhapur on the last day of the year 1885, the Maharaja and his party reached Bombay on the 22nd of January where His Highness was officially welcomed by the Government with a salute of 19 guns and, continuing his journey partly by rail and partly by road, the party joined their College which was then under the principalship of Mr. Macnaghten, a very sympathetic and kind-hearted gentle-

His Highness at 12.

man who had won much popularity among his own pupils. The Gokhales also accompanied the boys as tutors. The boys had not settled long at Rajkote when a great calamity overtook them in the sudden death of the Regent Abasaheb on 20 March 1885 at the age of thirty. On receiving news of the serious character of his illness, the Maharaja and party started for Kolhapur as hastily as the conveyances of those days permitted. They, however, found the Regent had died two days before they could reach Kolhapur. Shrimant Radhabai Saheb, the mother of the Maharaja in his natural family, had passed away some years previously. The death of Abasaheb must have been very keenly felt by the boys. The causes which hastened this sad event produced a deep and abiding impression on the Maharaja. The almost fanatical aversion which he felt for intoxicating drinks throughout his whole life was ascribed by himself to this impression imbibed at this tender age. The Maharaja was never an extreme puritan of any kind. But about this particular vice, he was scrupulously careful, so much so that he never allowed drunkards to be in his company. It is said that he had once a severe fall from his riding horse and seeing that he had lost consciousness on account of the injuries he received, a proposal was being discussed by persons around him to administer to him a dose of brandy. He would not allow that beverage to enter his throat, but when the word itself penetrated his ears, it brought him instantaneously to his senses and the first words he uttered meant that he would on no account ever drink brandy. Some years after he had assumed control of the affairs of his State and the friends of his father had found it impossible to maintain their influence with the son as with the father, his old Guru Mr. K. B. Gokhale gently suggested to him the advisability of keeping company only with men of admitted respectability in preference to men who belonged to the menial classes for whom the Maharaja was developing an inconvenient liking. "Whom shall I keep company with, if

not with these servants ?" asked the Maharaja. "Why, have you not got in your State men of status and education, pensioners like Professor M.? They should be your friends," was the reply. "Ah," retorted the young Maharaja, "I know fully well what the company of such men gave my father—the one vice which ruined his splendid health and which I am determined to avoid. No, I want neither this so-called high society nor its vices."

The death of Abasaheb at a time when the boys were hardly twelve years old was indeed a great misfortune in various ways. To the superficial observer, the Princes were certainly surrounded by crowds of loving friends on all sides, but to lose both parents creates a void in the young lives even of great Rajas which it is impossible to fill. Many years after, the Maharaja came across another royal family, closely related to himself, in which young Princes happened to be similarly situated. His letters to them, conveyed after much unavoidable intrigue, breathe a tenderness which at once illustrates the depth of sorrow which he must himself have felt on this melancholy occasion. It is in two cases that we find him called upon to send small sums of money to enable the minor Maharajas to meet their needs, even though they had about them all the paraphernalia of guardians, tutors, companions and attendants maintained by their respective States. The Maharaja's feelings in connection with the treatment which minor Princes in India receive may be gathered from certain notes he wrote for his brother Maharajas on the eve of one of the Princes' Conferences at Delhi.

The loss which the State suffered from this death may best be described in the words of Lord Reay, who wrote as follows on receiving the news :—

"Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for India has desired me to inform Your Highness of his deep regret at the loss sustained by the Kolhapur Court in the person of the late Regent for whom Lord Kimberley had a great regard.

The expression of his Lordship's sympathy will, I trust, convince Your Highness and the Kolhapur Court of the esteem in which the late Regent was held by those who were best qualified to judge of his merits and accomplishments."

While at Rajkote, the Maharaja spent only the two long vacations, the Summer in May and the Winter in November, in Kolhapur or Mahableshwar, while the rest of the year saw him at his College. The Christmas week was used by him in company with his companions and the new friends he made from his classmates for sight-seeing in Kathiawar itself. Of the three Christmas weeks they had while at Rajkote, one was spent in a visit to Junagad and the holy hills of Palitana which are famous for the number as well as the beauty of their Jain temples. The last Christmas took the Maharaja to the capital of his life-long and ever-loving friend, Prince Bhavsingji of Bhavnagar. With the exception of these trips to his native land and the famous places of Kathiawar, the three years and a half closing with April 1889 were spent in busy study at Rajkote. Besides the usual School work which was necessarily of an elementary character at Rajkote, the Maharaja did much by way of drill, gymnastics, riding, shooting and similar outdoor sports. He never liked indoor games of any kind. Riding and shikar formed his most favourite pastime on Sundays. The Kathiawar boys had little liking for this form of exercise; but the fine example that the Kolhapur boys, in this respect under the guidance of the very able shikari Mr. Bowasaheb Ingle, set to their fellow students proved very successful and the Princes of Bhavnagar, Jumnagar, Dharangadra and a few others became keen sportsmen in the Maharaja's company. Wrestling in those days was the forte of the Maharaja. In the gymnasium, his supremacy was unchallenged. In riding also there was hardly any other boy who could compete with him. The Kathiawar Princes had, in fact, to attend riding classes,

but the Marathas are born riders and had in this respect a natural superiority over their comrades. In the annual sports they always took a distinguished part. Though first in rank among the Princes at the College, the Maharaja was so simple, so playful and so unassuming that he was an equal to every boy in the place and all of them felt perfectly at home with him.

He retained this trait of his character throughout his life. It was the result as much of his innate simplicity as of the hard school of experience in which he learnt some of the first lessons of his life. Fortunately for him, those who were entrusted with his care wisely insisted upon strict discipline as the basis of all education. In 1888 the Maharaja wished to return to Kolhapur a month earlier than the close of his first term. Mr. K. B. Gokhale, the senior tutor, wrote a long letter to the Political Agent for permission. The Diwan explained that the temperature of Kathiawar was some degrees higher than at Kolhapur and that the wish of the boys to shikar in the Dangs was natural. The stern Political Agent refused to allow this "unusual request" and directed the boys to be taken straight from Rajkote to the "Craigh" at Mahableshwar but not to the longed-for Kolhapur. The Maharaja often used to describe the rough and hard life to which he was used in his childhood and which formed the foundation of his whole after-life. The usual journey from Kolhapur to Rajkote partly consisted, in those days, of riding or driving in carts or tongas in which the boys sat, as the Maharaja once put it, as unmoved and immoveable as the biscuits in a Huntley and Palmer's tin. When, therefore, the rest-house approached on the way, it required much skill and care to take the first biscuit out of the close packed tin. They used to help their servants to look after their animals which the Maharaja always loved very tenderly and often took part in cooking their food for themselves.

The conditions under which the Maharaja had to study, may be learnt from the following extract from a letter of Mr. K. B. Gokhale.

"His Highness and his companions have been working very hard since they came here; they have to study eight hours a day and you might have learnt from Mr. Macnaghten's speech on the day the prizes were distributed to the Kumars of this College that they, the Maharaja and his companions, have gained special commendation from the examiners."

During this period of education at the Rajkote College, the occasional visits which the Maharaja paid to Kolhapur were utilised for various ceremonial purposes, which gave him an insight into the affairs of the State. He heartily participated in the Jubilee celebrations of 1887. The Kharita which he wrote in reply to one from Lord Dufferin, the then Viceroy of India, expresses for the first time in the Maharaja's life his deep devotion to the throne which continued to deepen still further with the lapse of time. "The feelings of attachment which my father the late lamented Regent of Kolhapur always entertained to the person of the Queen Empress," says the Maharaja, "were intensified after he visited England and enjoyed the rare privilege of an audience with Her Most Gracious Majesty and I can assure Your Excellency that I am firmly resolved to tread in the footsteps of my late lamented father and to maintain unbroken the cordial relations which have always subsisted between Her Majesty's Government and the Kolhapur State." The Viceroy had already met the young Maharaja when he landed in Bombay in the preceding November, and he as well as his successors must have been gratified with the determination with which he made these words good.

During the monsoon of 1886, the Maharaja suffered from fever with the result that his studies were interrupted more than once. Yet his tutor reported that at the examination

of the year the Maharaja "gained more than one-third of the full marks assigned to each subject and more than 60 per cent of the total number of the marks assigned to all the subjects."

The first public function performed by the Maharaja was the ceremony of turning the first sod of the Kolhapur State Railway on Thursday, the 3rd May 1888. Prior to the laying out of the present M. & S. M. Railway line from Poona to Belgaum, a proposal was made to include Satara and Kolhapur on the main line with a future branch line from Kolhapur to Miraj. This would have placed Kolhapur in a commercially advantageous position and the cost to the State would have been undoubtedly less than that incurred by the construction of the Kolhapur State Railway. But other and obviously less wise counsels prevailed and sometime after the Poona-Miraj line was in operation, the Kolhapur State had to sanction the construction of its own State Railway. This gave occasion for the first little public speech of His Highness in which, as observed by the Maharaja with a rare frankness of mind, "you will not expect from me anything beyond the few words which it has been suggested to me to say."

About the beginning of 1889, it was decided that the Maharaja should go to Dharwar and complete his education there under the guidance of Mr. (afterwards Sir) S. M. Fraser, I.C.S. The choice of this gentleman as his tutor was one of the luckiest incidents of the Maharaja's life for which he had to be thankful to Mr. (as he then was) LeeWarner who always took the keenest interest in the welfare of the young Maharaja and his brother. In communicating the appointment of Mr. Fraser as tutor and guardian of the Maharaja, Bapusaheb and Bhavsingji, all of whom were henceforward to stay at Dharwar in a letter from Bombay, dated March, 1889, addressed to the Chhatrapati, Mr. LeeWarner said :—

"As I am leaving India for a year's furlough which I hope to enjoy thoroughly, I write to wish Your Highness and all your party at Rajkote my best wishes. I hope that the arrangements contemplated for your education will be pleasant and acceptable. The officer who, I hope, will be appointed is a gentleman whose care and friendship I should be glad to secure for my own children, and I have faithfully borne in mind my friend your father's wishes in submitting to His Excellency the Governor the proposal of which he has approved. I trust that Your Highness will grow up like your father a kind, just and honourable gentleman in private and public life, loved by your subjects and deserving their affection. Your responsibilities will be great, but I pray that God may give you grace and health to bear them with credit to yourself."

The estimate which Mr. LeeWarner gave in this letter of the proposed tutor Mr. Fraser was found absolutely correct. Mr. Fraser's care and friendship proved of the highest service to the Maharaja not only during his minority but until the last day of his life.

CHAPTER IV.

Dharwar and Marriage.

The Maharaja at Dharwar—The tours in Hindustan—The Holy City of Nasik—Calcutta visited—The Mogul Capitals—The Khanvilkars—Marriage—Married Life.

THE Rajkote climate does not seem to have suited the health of the Maharaja for which reason the decision, referred to in the previous chapter, to remove him to Dharwar seems to have been taken. The change was entirely for the better and His Highness must have liked it immensely, though for obvious reasons he could not then have given vent to his feelings on the point. On a later occasion, however, when he was requested to send his sons to Rajkote for their education, he replied in the following strain :—

"His Highness knows by personal experience how kumars are educated at the Rajkumar College at Rajkote. He means no disparagement to that Institution, but he is altogether unwilling to send his sons to it."

He did not cherish much fondness either for the climate of Kathiawar or for the treatment meted out at the College. Perhaps he did not take full account of the improvements introduced in the College since he left it. He must therefore have been very glad to serve the rest of his apprenticeship nearer home, if not among his own people. When he had later on to discuss the question of education to be imparted to minor Princes, he strongly insisted on their being kept among their own future subjects. "It is very essential," says he, "that a young chief be brought up in his own State and amongst his own people and never be kept aloof from the State under

His Highness Bhausinhaji and His Highness Shahu Chhatrapatiee while at Dharwar.

the charge of European guardians or brought up with no local man to look after him." In his own case, he had to complain of no lack of local men to help him. But he seems to have had a deep-seated dislike for being separated from his own State while he was yet a minor and the change from Rajkote to Dharwar must have been warmly welcomed by him.

The four years or so which the Maharaja and party spent at Dharwar under Mr. Fraser completed the training with which His Highness was fitted for the high position which he was to occupy in Kolhapur. Mr. Fraser's progress reports made at the end of each term bear ample testimony to the excellence of the training which was being given during this time. The party consisted as before of the two brothers, Balasaheb alias Kakasaheb of Kagal (Junior), and Dattajirao Ingle. The Kumars of Bhavnagar, though strictly not of the same party, lived with Mr. Fraser and formed an intimate friendship with the Kolhapur family, whose warmth never abated during the whole of their joint life. This "family," as Mr. Fraser used to call it, spent most of these years together, either in study at Dharwar or in one or other of the interesting tours which were undertaken in all parts of India.

The first account of their studies, dated October 1889, says :—

"Dattajirao Ingle is easily first and, as no monthly register of his progress is kept, I may specially add about him that he is a bright quick lad who easily distances the rest in all subjects.

"The other three, His Highness, Bapusaheb and Balasaheb, are more on an equality, but Balasaheb is a harder and more thoughtful worker and deserves his place of second. Bapusaheb has beaten the Maharaja. It will be observed that he gained his advantage at the beginning of the term, and that His Highness beat him last five weeks bearing

out my remark in the register that Bapusaheb improved less relatively than the others and seemed to grow a little stale."

The next term's report, dated April 11, 1890, is much fuller and more interesting. A few extracts from it will give a clear picture of His Highness as he then was :—

"I entered upon my duties on the 22nd May 1889 at Kolhapur where the Raja and his companions then were. The term commenced on the 11th June at Dharwar, whither I had preceded my charges some days to make necessary arrangements about housing. The scarcity of bungalows in Dharwar made it impossible so near the monsoon to get ready satisfactory quarters and we had to put up (though at heavy rents) with inferior houses in the fort, which is the least desirable part of the station. The Kolhapur Kumars occupied one bungalow and Bhavsinghji and his companion another. Other houses in a more healthy part were secured for the second term, which, though inconveniently far apart, were preferable, and from June next the Kolhapur and Bhavnagar Kumars will occupy new bungalows close to each other and to my own, where it is hoped we shall remain for the rest of our stay in Dharwar. Most of the horses and servants are housed at two hired "utaras" in the town.

"The cold weather holiday was spent by His Highness at Kolhapur where Bhavsinghji also passed three weeks as his guest. An extra fortnight was added to enable the Kumars to pay their respects to H. R. H. Prince Albert Victor at Poona. All the boys were present at the various functions in honour of His Royal Highness which they much enjoyed and the Raja was further distinguished by being received in formal Darbar, the only native chief thus honoured. During the second term, a week (from the 5th to 11th February) was spent by all at Chinchli on the occasion of the annual Kolhapur and S. M. Country Horse and Cattle Fair. With these exceptions, the time was passed at Dharwar, till Bhavsinghji

left to spend the hot weather vacation at Bhavnagar and the Kolhapur Kumars at Kolhapur.

"It is a fortunate circumstance that all the boys had already become acquainted at the Rajkumar College (which they all left at the end of April 1889) where similar tastes had made them great friends. In consequence, they have been a most united party joining all together in their daily amusements of riding, coursing, shooting or driving. The kumars are particularly fond of riding for which the country round Dharwar is well suited and all have enjoyed excellent small game shooting."

"The daily routine at Dharwar is as follows :—

"The kumars rise about 6-30 a.m., then go for a ride, walk, or shooting in company with Bowasaheb Ingle (a native gentleman, appointed by the late Regent, who was with H. H. at Rajkote also) and generally myself. School is from ten to one, and again from two to five, after which they are drilled for half an hour, then play Tennis or drive, or walk. At dusk they generally practise native fencing and gymnastics with a special instructor, and after the evening meal, prepare lessons for the next day. The programme of their leisure is not cut and dried for them, but between morning and night every hour of the day is taken up in work or play of some sort and this continual occupation gives no opportunity for loafing and unwholesome conversation to which boys are often tempted in idleness. Sundays and holidays they almost invariably spend in long shooting expeditions on which occasions I trust them with confidence to Bowasaheb Ingle who is a first-rate sportsman and an excellent example to them of manliness and simplicity.

"H. H. the Raja, though still rather backward, has done a satisfactory year's work and continually makes faster progress. He is not clever but he has very good common sense and a fairly good memory, added to which he is genuinely anxious to learn, and takes pains and interest in his

lessons. His common sense has particularly appeared in the elementary Political Economy they are now learning, a subject in which he is better than the rest. His English conversation has distinctly improved, both in correctness and in ease, and will continue to improve as he loses the shyness which, with strangers, prevents his doing himself justice. The great fault of his work is carelessness and untidiness which appear particularly in his spelling, writing and composition. In disposition, His Highness, who in spite of his size is still quite a boy, is healthy-minded, open, generous and truthful. He is totally free from bumptiousness and I have seen many little instances of unselfishness and thoughtfulness on his part which show that he is as good-natured as he looks.

"His Highness is a big boy, standing now 5ft. and 9in. in height and weighing 14 stone 1lb. He is broad and has a good carriage, but his hereditary tendency to corpulency is a cause for anxiety. It is a matter for satisfaction that by moderation in food, and much exercise and by continually watching his weight, he has kept himself from increasing since October last. The fits of heaviness which I am told he had at Rajkote have not re-appeared, and were doubtless due to over-stoutness. Want of animation, however, is still the fault to be found with his manners, joined to shyness with Europeans, of whom he has no inclination, I think, to see very much being provided with the society of so many of his own companions. This is an unavoidable disadvantage in the arrangement. Physically His Highness has come on during the past year. He is now a strong rider, and it may be mentioned won the tent-pegging prize at Chinchli from several European competitors. He is too clumsy for Tennis, but is a fair shot, and has learnt to drive four-in-hand, and tandem, to swim, and to row a little."

The next report, dated October 1890, shows that our Maharaja was still behind most of his companions. Refer-

ring to the low place which His Highness occupied relatively with his fellow students, the report says :—

"H. H. lost some marks owing to being unable to write in consequence of the fall from his horse, reported at the time. He seldom, however, beat Bapusaheb even when his hand was well and the latter deserves his place. He worked well and steadily. But I must admit disappoinment that His Highness did not quite maintain the promise of the last term, when he looked like passing his younger brother once for all. He has not been idle, but the fault of all his work continues to be slovenliness, a failure which is, of course, particularly fatal in the case of Arithmetic.

"With the exception of the fall from his horse which caused dislocation of the right shoulder, and prevented his using the arm for six weeks, the health of the party was excellent. In addition to their usual sports, they enjoyed regular hunting with the station pack of fox-hounds, and the new billiard table was a good deal appreciated by most of them.

"The cold weather term of 1890 ended on 15th March and after a month at Kolhapur, His Highness the Raja, his brother and companions went to Mahableshwar for the rest of the vacation, occupying as on former occasions the "Craig" bungalow, which belongs to the Kagal State, and were joined there by Bhavsinghji and Kalubha from Bhavnagar on May 1st, when the term began. Work was carried on as usual till the end of the month, after which we returned to Dharwar. On the 15th October, the cold weather holidays began and the Raja went back to Kolhapur for the Temblai Fair, the Dasara and Diwali, occasions on which the Ranisahebs and the people generally attach particular importance to his presence."

The winter holidays which followed this Report were spent in one of those tours which must have formed the best part of His Highness' education. The three tours of the

Maharaja—two in the North and one in the South—have been fully described by Mr. Fraser in his beautiful little pamphlet, called "Three Tours in India and Ceylon" printed only for private circulation. The first tour commenced on the 16th November when His Highness left Kolhapur and joined his friends Bhavsinghji the next day at Kalyan. The first halt of the party was at the holy city of Nasik which "gave the Raja his first experience of the drawbacks of his rank in a holy city. The compound of his bungalow was literally beset by the swarms of hungry Bhikshuks, or religious beggars, for whom Nasik is notorious and strong measures were required to keep them from pressing even into the verandah. Each one of the party down to the humblest of the servants was discovered by the hereditary priest of his family, and made to add his name to those already entered in the books. In the Raja's case there were two rival claimants for the honour (and profit) of his signature, and the dispute had to be settled by having nothing to do with either." Jabalpur was reached next in order on the 20th where a moonlight trip on Narmada was most enjoyable. Allahabad came next. The inevitable family priest pounced upon the Maharaja even at the Railway Station and took him to the Sangam shortly after he reached his bungalow, the Rewa Kothi. While on a visit to the Fort, "we descended the underground passage to the 'Akshai Vriksh' or imperishable tree which is the trunk of a fig tree, rootless and branchless, fixed in a stone base, but supposed to throw out leaves and live for ever. When we saw it, however, there was not a leaf to be seen and it looked as dead as it probably was." The 23rd saw the kumars at the famous city of Benares. In the course of his visits to the holy places of Benares His Highness was required to bathe in the Ganges under the wing of his priest. But when he was requested to repeat the same performance at the Manikarnika well—"the foulest and holiest water of all"—His Highness flatly refused "which much scandalized, I fear, his spiritual guide."

His Highness as a boy of 15.

The party were at Calcutta on the 27th. There "the boys were not long in making comparisons with Bombay and the first point noticed in favour of Calcutta was the climate, which during our stay was charmingly fresh. The zoological and other gardens, and the splendid great maidan contrasted favourably with the dried up Bombay Esplanade, but all agreed that our public buildings were finer individually than those of the City of Palaces. His Highness was quick to notice that though the horses in the streets were generally fine, the tramway horses, and the tram cars too, were much inferior to those in Bombay, and in many little points I was glad to find the kumars showing their observation by criticisms and comparisons." While at Calcutta, the party paid a short visit to Darjeeling and caught a glimpse of the snowy peak of the Himalayan range and the huge height of the Kanchanganga. During the journey to this Hill station, an old tea-planter whispered in the ears of Mr. Fraser as a piece of news that there was a Raja on board and pointed to a person who sat wrapped to his eyes in shawls as that Raja : it was no other than Mr. Gokhale, busy taking care of his asthma ! On another occasion, Mr. Fraser tells us, "the Raja was shown me correctly enough, but he would have been tickled to hear the other boys described as his sons !"

Passing through Lucknow, where the party spent two days, they reached Agra on the 12th. Though as boys of sixteen they were not expected to be keen admirers of architecture—at least the Maharaja never thought much of it—the kumars including the Maharaja were "duly enthusiastic over the Taj." The next morning, the party drove to Fatehpur Sikri, the old residence of the great Moghul, Akbar.

"The cold was very keen, and almost throughout the day we found overcoats not only comfortable but necessary. The trip, however, well repaid the long drive, and few places that we visited have the peculiar interest of Akbar's well-preserved palace. It is, however, rather a collection of palace

buildings, for, as the Raj and Bhavsingji noticed, this was not their idea of a "Rajwada" the different rooms not standing enclosed in four walls but occupying buildings quite separate from one another, on the primitive nomad idea of a collection of tents. As has been often remarked, a ramble through this palace enables one to form a vivid picture of the daily routine of the great Emperor at home. One can follow him in imagination from the simple small sleeping chamber in his morning visit to the great Durgah and his old friend the Fakir Shaik Selim Chisti; and thence to his sport from the Hiran Mirar, a tower 70ft. high, studded quaintly with pegs like elephant tusks past which the deer were driven to him. Next we can picture him returning by the Hathiya pol, with its life-size stone elephants, to receive petitions and show himself to the people in the Dewan-i-Am, whence on Council days he would retire with his ministers to the isolated Dewan-i-Khas, the unique design of which must have been his own idea. The domestic side too of the Emperor's life is suggested by the Pachisi-pavement, and the hide-and-seek house, where he would play with his ladies, and the five-storied colonade of the Panch Mahal, said to have been built for the children to play in. No palace, I fancy, is more suggestive of the character of its creator, and no clearer illustration could be offered of Akbar's religious toleration than this home at Fatehpur Sikri, where we find side by side the orthodox mosque, the Hindu temple for his Jodhpur Rani, the house for the Portuguese wife (if tradition is correct), the gem palace of his Hindu minister Birbal, and the pure Jain pavilion for his Jain "Guru."

"In the mutilation of the stone elephants, and of all figures in the carving, a fresh reminder appears too of the bigotry of Aurangzib which spared the unorthodox ornamentation of his own ancestor no more than the temples of the Hindus themselves. The visit to this place cannot have failed to make the kumars realize more clearly the contrast

between these two Emperors, about which they have read. The monotony of this succession of what perhaps they considered almost too educational buildings, was relieved by watching a number of the villagers leap from the wall by the big gate into the well 80ft. below. The foulness of the water alone made their exhibition cheap at four annas a head. Mention must just be made of the tomb of Shaik Selim Chisti, in the Mosque compound, the marble screens of which surpass in lace-like delicacy even the best at Agra and Secundra. The old moollah, who showed us round, is a direct descendant of the old Fakir, and was an appropriate guide to a city which, tradition says, his ancestors induced Akbar to build."

By the afternoon of the 18th, the party found itself at Delhi. After a visit to Ferozshah Kotla and the Asoka pillar, they went to the purana Killa ascribed by tradition tc the Mahabharat king Yudhisthira. Its chief interest to the Maharaja must have been the fact that it was here, as the tradition goes, that his great ancestor, Shivaji, had escaped from captivity to which Aurangzib had reduced him.

The next day after tiffin we devoted ourselves to the scenes of the mutiny, and drove first to the sites of the breaching batteries and the Kashmir Gate. Before they left, the kumars, I think, understood that they had stood at the scene of one of the most thrilling feats of arms of any time. As we walked round the walls, one could not help contrasting the position of the contending parties here and at Lucknow which we had recently visited, and the success of the English whether besieged by hordes in the defenceless Residency, or as a mere handful besieging a walled city, must bring home to any native the difference between the sepoy with English leading and without it. Thence on to the Ridge and the Flag Tower. The Hindu Rao's house was made peculiarly interesting to our party by the fact that Hindu Rao was in his time Chief of Kagal, and grandfather of Bapusaheb. His real name was

Jayasinghrao Ghatge, and he, for a long time, enjoyed great power at the court of Gwalior through his sister Baijabai, widow of Doulatrao Scindia, but on quarrelling with her, he retired to his house at Delhi built by himself, and spent his time chiefly in shikar, till he died in 1855. He was thus mentioned in a memoir by Baird-Smith, quoted by Malleson :— "The old man was a well-known member of the local society, a keen sportsman, a liberal and hospitable gentleman, of frank, bluff manners and genial temperament," a description which, curiously enough, would have exactly fitted his grandson Abasaheb, the late Chief of Kagal, whose name also was Jayasinghrao."

The next halt was at Jaypur and then at Ajmere where the boys, with their memories of the Rajkote College, proved themselves observant critics of all they saw at the Mayo College. They admired the style of the buildings and declared their preference for the Rajkote plan of all the boys living in one building, close to the Principal and one another. That evening, continues Mr. Fraser, "I received a telegram from the Agent to the Governor-General at Baroda, to say that the visit to H. H. the Gaikwar which had been proposed had better be omitted owing to the unfortunate indisposition of His Highness. This was very disappointing to all as the visit had been long arranged by special invitation to the Raja and kumar Shri Bhavsinhji, and H. H. was particularly looking forward to seeing Baroda and making the acquaintance of his relative, the Gaikwar. The disappointment was equally felt at Baroda, where I stopped on the 25th to express His Highness' regrets as great preparations had been made for his reception, and the streets had been decorated from the station to the bungalow he was to occupy."

The party left Ajmere on the 25th for Bombay and after paying a short visit to Kolhapur to attend a scientific conversazione they reached Dharwar on the 30th and recommenced work with the new year. "Thus successfully ended a tour

which fully realized the pleasure and benefit which I expected the kumars to obtain from it. The time had been short, but they had travelled over 4,899 miles, and had gained some idea of the size of the Indian Empire and the variety of peoples and countries which compose it. As the Raja once remarked, they had been to parts where even the name of Kolhapur was unknown. The places seen had each helped to stock their minds with pictures of scenery, buildings and events of history in a way that reading never could have done, and the first fruits of the many new ideas gained on the tour have been already noticed in the general brightening of their conversation."

An event of the very greatest importance took place on the 1st of April 1891, when His Highness was married to Shri Laxmibaisaheb, the daughter of Meherban Gunajirao Khanvilkar of Baroda and a grand-daughter of a sister of His Highness Ganpatrao Gaikwad. Being born on the new year's day of 1880, Her Highness Laxmibai Maharani Saheb, as she now became, was only eleven years old at the time of her marriage. The Khanvilkars, originally Khots of five villages with Kupe (in the Ratnagiri Taluka) as their centre, spent some years as keepers of the Fort of Bassein under the Peshwas and, when that Fort was transferred to the British Government, the Khanvilkars came down to Satara, the Chhatrapatis of which were connected with them by ties of blood Thence, in 1826, they again migrated to Baroda where Ganpatrao, the grandfather of Laxmibaisaheb, was married to the daughter of H. H. Sayajirao (senior) Gaikwad. Thus the Maharani of Kolhapur was descended from a highly aristocratic family among the Maratha race and was well fitted for her high position by her lineage as much as by her own personal accomplishments.

After the festivities were over, His Highness went on a sporting excursion in the Ghat districts of the State for about a week and then returned to Kolhapur to receive Lord Harris,

the Governor of Bombay, who was to visit Kolhapur for the purpose of opening the State Railway and the Industrial Exhibition. Though due at Dharwar on May 1, His Highness had to stay on for two weeks more to attend the marriages of his brother Bapusaheb and uncle Balasaheb which took place on the 11th of that month. Regarding the work of the cold weather term which ended on October 2, Mr. Fraser wrote :—

"The term was a long one, having commenced on May 1st, but was shorter than the corresponding term of last year by a fortnight as the date of the Temblai festival fell early and the Rajah at the particular wish of H. H. the Ranis, returned to Kolhapur in time to perform the Devasthapana ceremony on the 4th which before his marriage he was not obliged to perform in person.

"Maharaja is 234 marks behind his brother, which, however, is nearer to him than he has come before. Both boys worked steadily, but both will be able to improve their marks 25 per cent. when they can attain sufficient carefulness in working to avoid the common mistakes which they really should correct for themselves.

"Throughout the five months, the health of all the party has, I am happy to say, been uniformly good. H. H. has not increased much in weight, but Bapusaheb has grown much stouter."

Commenting on the progress of His Highness, his Tutor writes :—

"His Highness the Raja has worked willingly and given much attention to his lessons, but I am disappointed that he has been beaten by his brother. He gets a general idea of a subject easily and can give a good account of it *viva voce*, but the carelessness, which is his great fault, makes all his writing work unsatisfactory. He has however made great general progress during the year and has taken much interest in the new

subject of law and elementary science and, in many unexpected directions has shown that he is beginning to think out things for himself. In conversation he is now more easy, but shyness still keeps him from doing himself justice with strangers. His disposition is as amiable as ever. For games and books, His Highness has not yet much inclination and his tastes, as before, are for horses, dogs and guns. His father's skill as a whip has descended to him and last term at Dharwar he himself trained a team of six horses and drove them with perfect control.

" The state of his physique is decidedly satisfactory, for his weight remains about the same as last year, 14 stones, 2lbs. while he has increased in height and now stands 5 ft. 10¼ ins."

To those who knew the exceptionally strong mental calibre of His Highness as evidenced by the varied activities of his later life, these complaints about untidiness, careless habits or shyness in the company of Europeans may appear somewhat incongruous with his true nature. But to all appearances these faults continued to exist to the last moments of his life. They arose, I think, chiefly out of that rustic simplicity of life and manners which His Highness so ardently loved. He was never fond of the formalities of European social life and avoided accepting invitations to stay with European friends or even to attend public dinners. He was at home with the poorer classes of people and liked to live like them. A fastidious gentleman, European or Indian, could not fail to detect in the natural informality of this kind a certain kind of untidiness; but His Highness seemed to love nothing better than this manner of life. In his younger days, he was often taken to task for this apparent slovenliness and, as was natural, the observer sometimes tried to reprove persons about him who shared some responsibility with him for this fault. But with a true courage and considerateness born of an unselfish nature, he would generously take the

whole burden on himself and absolve his servants and attendants from any responsibility. Col. Reeves once got angry with the barber for not paring the nails of the boy-Maharaja. But the Maharaja at once got up and told him that it was no fault of the barber who was not allowed to pare his nails. It is indeed difficult to say where simplicity ends and slovenliness commences. It is equally difficult to be on the exact border line. His Highness never cared to demarcate the two and liked to err on the side of rude simplicity rather than on that of fastidious etiquette.

While care was thus being taken for the education of the young Maharaja, the progress of his Maharani was in no way neglected. Her Highness was living under the care of Her Highness Sakwarbai Ranisaheb. Mrs. Cox was engaged to look after her education and spent four hours a day with her royal pupil. The Administration Report of 1891-92 refers to her progress in these terms :—

"She has now quite completed the Regulation 2nd Government standard—geography, drawing, needlework, &c. Mrs. Cox has been engaged to give her lessons in painting thrice a week. Her Highness enjoys good health and has grown a great deal since her marriage" as undoubtedly all girls in India do after that event. This naturally gave rise to questions which also invariably arise in Hindu society, questions relating to the proper age for consummation o marriage. Mr. Fraser took care to remind the young Maharaja that his father Abasaheb wished him not to marry till he was "over eighteen years of age" and that he should obey that wish. Mr. Lee Warner had sat by the side of Abasaheb when he was on his death-bed and writing in December 1891 to the young Prince, he conveyed to the Maharaja his father's last wishes in these words :—

"I am writing to you on a subject which makes it necessary for me to remind you that I was with your lamented father just as he passed away, and received his dying wishes regard-

ing you. In the presence of Mr. Meharjibhai, he asked me to be a father to you and to carry out his wishes and it is as his and your friend, and not as secretary to Government or as a servant of Government that I am now writing to you this letter on a most delicate subject. But I have a duty to his memory and to Your Highness, which on the eve of my departure from India compels me to address you in language which must be as plain as it is prompted by the most kindly sentiments towards you.

"It was your father's great desire that you should not marry until your wife was old enough to bear children, if it pleases God to give you them, without injury to her health. The fate of a child mother is only too well known to you; a child that is not full grown cannot bear offspring without first injury to herself and injury to her child. We trust that many years of happy married life are before you, but would you be happy if you destroyed your wife's health and perhaps her life by unnecessary haste in consummating your marriage? Your first-born, if a son, will succeed as a Ruler. Your ancestors, your noble House and your subjects all look to you to provide a healthy successor; but you know from the history of India how frequently the issues of immature parents are delicate in bodies and weak in intellects. Your father's expressed wishes should be dear to you. Consider, then, your threefold duty to your little wife, to your dynasty and to the memory of your wise and enlightened father, and do not be moved from the right course by the follies of an ignorant lot of surroundings which your father fully considered when he earnestly desired you to postpone union with your wife until she was old enough to bear children. What is asked? Merely manly self-restraint for the good of every one for a few short years. I know your good disposition and the respect you have for your father's wishes, and I appeal to your good sense and higher nature to give this advice the attention due to one who received your father's death-bed

wishes and takes a personal and affectionate interest in your welfare."

It is unnecessary to observe here that His Highness respected these wishes of his late father and thus laid the foundations of the splendid health which he enjoyed for many years to come. At the time this took place, so much importance was attached to this self-control that the Council of Administration deemed it necessary to make a reference to it in their Annual Report in these words :—

"Mr. Fraser makes a favourable mention of the general progress and conduct of His Highness during the year; but the Council of Administration are particularly delighted that His Highness is endowed with the very desirable faculty of self-possession and by keeping up a certain promise made in connection with his marriage, has given evidence that he can also exercise self-denial under tempting circumstances."

And this self-control fructified within a few years into a happy family of robust children.

CHAPTER V.

The End of Apprenticeship.

The idea of a visit to England revived—The tour in the South—The shikar in Ceylon—The Progress of the Maharani—Alen visited—The Punjab and the Province of Sindh—Mr. Sabnis joins the party as a Tutor—A tour in his own State—Mr. Fraser's work in Kolhapur.

SCARCELY a year of the Maharaja's residence at Dharwar was over when the old proposal for sending His Highness to England to complete his education there was revived. In the beginning of 1890, Mr. Lee Warner who took very keen interest in the young Prince, fixed upon Shixworth Park as His Highness' Home in England and wrote to Kolhapur to ask if this arrangement was acceptable. Six months latter, we find Col. Reeves impressing on the Maharaja's mind the desirability of his carrying out Abasaheb's wishes in this connection. Col. C. Wodehouse, another Political Agent of the older days and father of the later Resident, Col. F. W. Wodehouse, who was associated with the Kolhapur State for a longer time than any other Political Officer in the State during the Maharaja's régime, repeats the same request though in more general terms in the beginning of 1891. By the middle of the year, the idea assumed a more formal shape and was expressed in a G. R. of the Bombay Government (No. 4977 of June 24, 1891) which, after reviewing the result of thework done at Dharwar up to date, said : "The increasing knowledge of English which His Highness is acquiring and the evident pleasure which the recent tour (in India) afforded him, justify the hope that, when the time comes for carrying out the earnest wishes of the late Regent and sending the Raja to England, he will derive both the enjoyment and the profit which his father anticipated."

Thus pressed on all hands to go to England, it would have been only natural if His Highness, a young man of eighteen, had accepted the decision of his influential guardians and well-wishers. But he had made up his mind otherwise and was determined to resist the powerful influences which were being brought to bear upon his mind. The reasons which induced him to arrive at this decision will be described in his own words presently. The principal interest of this episode, however, is not in the cogency or weakness of the reasoning adopted by him. It consists in the fact that this was the first of the many fights which he put up against heavy odds and from which he came out with flying colours. It showed that he possessed a heart which would not droop in the presence of opposition, a courage which enabled him to have his own way against adverse circumstances and, above all, a rare aptitude for debate and controversy which surprised many who judged only from the careless and shy habits of which his teachers so frequently complained and from the listless looks and the clumsy turban which he loved to wear. His shyness, which made many Europeans mistake him for a dullard, disappeared the moment there was an occasion for the exhibition of boldness. Having decided within himself the attitude he should take, the Maharaja set aside the weighty advice—backed as it was by the last wishes of his departed father—given him by his own guardians and, with an adroitness which was such a distinctive feature of his character, the boy-Raja started for Mahableshwar to induce Lord Harris to accept his own view as against that of almost every one who counted. And he did succeed in this, the first diplomatic mission of his life.

The case which he put before Lord Harris was subsequently embodied in the following letter of His Highness :—

"About the first point, namely, that I shall be next year fit to benefit myself by the visit, I confess that I shall be somewhat fit ; but I am of opinion that if I wait for a time,

I shall be more benefitted because as I get more experience, my knowledge will increase. I intend to keep up my knowledge of English. I am very fond of shikaring but I think I will, and it is not my desire to leave off reading altogether. I wish to increase the knowledge which has been given to me by Mr. Fraser. Besides this, by spending the same amount of money later on, I will be more benefitted than now; then why should I make haste?

"About the second point, namely, that I will find it difficult to go away from my family. I have got a great admiration for the civilization of England and that admiration will increase with my age. After enjoying some worldly happiness, I do not think I shall then appreciate less the advantages to be got from the trip. Besides my wife perhaps will like to go to England with me and we will go together and in that case she would be a persuasion to me rather than an obstacle.

"About the third point, namely, my people will want me; and my relations will also come in my way. I am sure that the people will not then be so unwilling to see me go for a time, because by that time I will have got some children and they will make my absence forgotten. They will get a native rule for a time for which they have been waiting for a very long time. The History of Kolhapur has been unfortunate for three generations and so the people are very afraid. But when I rule for a time, their fear will pass off and they will not mind my going. I will at that time hand over the charge to capable men, and I hope Government will superintend them. There will be no fear about my elders permitting me to go after some years. Because they say they will allow me to go and in my absence they will pass the time in taking care of my children. The Ranis say that if I go now, my character will perhaps be spoilt, because my character is not as yet settled and that, in a continent like Europe, there are many temptations.

"About the fourth point, Mr. Fraser will not be able to accompany me. Then I say that I should get more pleasure if I had a sympathetic gentleman like Mr. Fraser with me when I go to England and I am sure that when I request Government to lend me his services, they will not say no. But if they refuse, I dare say I shall find some other gentleman to accompany me. When my father went to England, Col. Gordon's services were given to him. I am highly obliged to your Lordship for giving me opportunities of telling my reasons for not going next year to England. I may add that Mr. Fraser has shown me a report by Mr. Conaghy about my health in which he advises a sea-voyage, but there is no need to decide about this yet."

To which Lord Harris replies on July 20, 1892 :—

"I have to acknowledge your letter of July 7th, dealing with the points I put to you when we met at Mahableshwar, as those which you should consider in weighing the advisability of a visit to England. The decision you arrive at is that you would prefer not to visit England before receiving your powers. I will not conceal from you my disappointment at this decision, whilst at the same time I am not surprised at its resulting from your consultations with the ladies of your family. I am disappointed because I am sceptical of your willingness to take a long journey with your difficulties increasing as years roll by and as family and business engagements and occupations increase, and also because it would be possible now to make arrangements which would be of advantage to yourself, and which may be rendered impossible by the exigencies of the service of a future date. On the other hand I cannot deny that you are quite as likely to gain advantage by a visit to Europe when you are a few years older, as at your present age. I am, I believe, quite able to realise the feelings which actuate you in coming to the decision you have, and I have no intention of bringing any more pressure than I have exercised up to

now, to bear on you, with a view to your disregarding them."

The success of His Highness' arguments is obviously incomplete. But after the lapse of some time during which the keenness of the disappointment must have considerably worn away, Lord Harris paid a more generous tribute to the Maharaja's arguments in a speech he delivered at the Chinchali Fair of February 1893. Advising His Highness, he said: "You have, after mature consideration, said that you would prefer to postpone it for a year or two. I listened to the sound arguments you advanced, and I suggested that as we go on in years, we are less inclined to indulge in travel and that the deeper we get into the affairs of State the less opportunities there are of undertaking a long absence from those affairs. But I could not contest the strong arguments you advanced that as you grew in years you would also grow in the power of appreciation of the lessons you might acquire from a visit to Western countries. That was a sound argument, which was worthy of attention: for it does not follow that because some Native Chiefs of India have visited England before they have ascended the Gadi, that therefore it is essential that such a visit should be prior to the receipt of powers. Besides you have taken the opportunity of visiting a great part of India. You have travelled from Ceylon, through Madras to Peshawar, and you have visited nearly every province of India. If such a tour extending over several years does not give you an accurate idea of the aims and objects and capacity of the British rule, I doubt if a visit to England would, at Your Highness' present age, do much to extend that knowledge. When you suggested, therefore, that you would be in a better position a few years hence to gain advantage than you are now likely to obtain from a visit to England, I accepted that as a sound argument for the reasons I have given, and I was also the more ready to fall in with Your Highness' wishes on the ground that they were echoed by your

family and by a large number of the people in your State."

By the time the question of a stay in England was disposed of in this manner. His Highness had completed his second tour, this time in the South of India including Ceylon. Leaving Kolhapur on the 5th November 1891, the party visited Bijapur, Hyderabad, Madras, Pondicherry, Tanjore, Tuticorin, Colombo, Candy and Newara Eliya. On their way back they paid visits to the two principal cities of the Mysore State, Bangalore and Mysore, and returned to their temporary home at Dharwar on December 24th.

A few brief extracts from Mr. Fraser's account of this tour will show how the Kumars enjoyed it :—"Bijapur was reached before 10 a.m. and His Highness and party drove off to the Anand Mahal where they found comfortable quarters. In the evening we sailed out in tongas. His Highness, ever keen for driving anything, steering one sorry pair of ponies, went first tothe Taj Bavri, a large masonry tank, fed by pipes from the Torvi reservoirs three miles from the town, and one of the chief sources of supply. It strikes one at first about Bijapur as strange that such a site should have been selected for a capital, for neither has it any natural advantages for a fortress, nor are sufficient means visible for supplying a large population with water particularly in such a dry year as the present. The skill, however, of the old Bijapur engineers and architects was not limited to the construction of mighty walls, domes and palaces but displayed its useful side in an elaborate system of aqueducts and subterranean channels, which drained all neighbouring tanks into reservoirs inside the town."

After seeing Madras, naturally the Maharaja began to compare the capitals of the three major provinces of India :— "His Highness has now seen the three presidency towns of India, and found much in Madras to contrast with Bombay and Calcutta. Space here seems no object ; the public buildings

are scattered, the town is a long way from the Fort, the Fort from the pier, and the suburbs extend for miles. The size of Madras compounds must make those who live in Bombay and Calcutta envious, but it is still more surprising to find many of the shops even on the Mount Road, standing in their own compounds, and one is inclined to say that Madras has no streets but only roads. There is little appearance of stir or bustle, and it is perhaps in keeping with the atmosphere of the place, that men are content to be wheeled about in big perambulators, while victorias and ticca-garries are not common as with us and in Calcutta. The branches of the River Coum, with its pretty stretches of canal-like scenery, are crossed and recrossed, and abundance of palms and trees gives a rural or suburban effect to a large part of the town. The dress of the women, the miniature trotting bullocks, the prevalence of elephantiasis and the English language are some of the very miscellaneous things which the boys noticed. It was curious to find the beggars and coolies in the streets talking English, and I was told that it is taught in the elementary schools, not only in Madras itself but in the up-country villages. The further south we go, the more widespread is the English language and here and in Ceylon the boys had to rely on their English entirely for converse with the Natives, an experience not without its useful lessons."

Next, of the capital of French India and how that republican nation treats its Indian subjects :—" In the evening we took a drive through the 'Palace' past the fine statue of Dupleix, and along the Beach to the public gardens, which are worth seeing for the Artesian wells, and the vanilla creepers and bread-fruit trees, which do not thrive elsewhere on the coast. This alone finished the sights of Pondicherry, which, however, quite repaid our short visit. It is a quaint little town unlike any Anglo-Indian place, and if it is true that the Englishman carries English ways with him wherever he goes, the French here seem to have repro-

duced their home surroundings far more accurately than we do. There are no bungalows with gardens and compounds but the houses stand, one touching the other with the lower windows barred and looking direct on two regular rough 'trottoirs' as in any small town in Normandy. The place is very clean and in spite of his 'liberte, equalite and fraternite', the Frenchman has drawn a very strict line between the Eurpoean quarter and the Black-town, the latter being separated from the former by a canal."

Tanjore had of course a closer attraction for the Maratha party, for "Tanjore is a place which with its buildings and historical associations might almost be called a Southern Delhi. Here, for the first time, we are reminded of those ancient Hindu dynasties, some hitherto known to most of us hardly by name, the Chola kings who built the great Pagoda and conquered Ceylon, the Nayaks from Vizianagar and, then, most interesting of all to our party in particular, the Marathas who under the famous Shahaji, father of the still more famous Shivaji, founded the Maratha kingdom here in 1660. The Rajas of Kolhapur are the direct descendants of Shivaji and the Marathas of Tanjore who are very proud of their race showed, by the warmth of their welcome, their remembrance of the family connection."

Crossing over to Ceylon, the party enjoyed the magnificent natural scenery of the Hills there and had some very exciting shikar excursions of which the Maharaja was always so fond :—"Perhaps what the boys enjoyed best of all was the elk hunting which they were lucky enough to see. This sport, which was started by Sir Samuel Baker, is still kept up in the neighbourhood, and the owners of the pack of hounds, Messrs. C.W. and R. Jackson, very kindly came up to Newara Eliya at the suggestion of Mr. Fowler, the Assistant Government Agent. The woods abound in elk or, as we call them in India, sambar, and there is seldom difficulty in finding. The pack consists of 6 or 7 couples of pure and half-bred fox-

hounds which hunt the elk up and down the jungle till it is forced to seek safety in leaving the wooded slopes and makes for the nearest stream to come to bay. It is pretty well known where the elk is likely to break, and there on the edge of the open are stationed two or three couples of 'seizers,' as they are called, very large and powerful dogs, generally crosses between Scotch deer hounds and kangaroo hounds or mastiffs. These are slipped on the elk as he bursts and either pull down in the open, or when it is a good stag, only after a long fight, in the water. There were three meets during our stay and on two days we had capital sport. The first meet was near Sitalaya, and an elk was soon on foot and nearly broke over but was turned and went back in the direction of the Hakgala gardens where we hurried with the seizers, and had barely reached the other side of the jungle, before we met the elk galloping over the 'Patana' or open grass, far ahead of the pack. A couple of seizers were slipped and in a minute deer and hounds went crashing down an almost precipitous ravine to the stream below where the elk, a young stag, was pulled down. It was a roughish scramble to follow them, but all the boys were well in at the death and Bapusaheb was handed the knife to deal the *coup de grace*.

"The second meet was at the Moon-stone plains. The hounds had to stick to their elk for two hours in heavy jungle before it would break, but at last there was a crash and the beast jumped into the road, went splash through a stream and making strongly up the opposite bank, had nearly gained fresh cover when it was grandly pulled down by a single seizer. The bank was exceedingly steep and though some of us laid hold of the elk, there was no resisting the force of the pack, which had now come up and elk and hounds, in one mass, rolled down an almost sheer drop of 20 feet through the bushes into the stream, where Buwa-saheb was the second to follow them and gave the death thrust."

In all these tours, the Maharaja was accompanied by an entourage which was barely sufficient for necessary purposes and every care was taken that the travels should bring the young Prince into as close touch with the people and the places he visited as was possible for any ordinary gentleman. Unlike the proverbial tour of Princes so thickly surrounded by their own paraphernalia that knowledge of the new world they are supposed to see is hard to penetrate to them, these tours enured greatly to the benefit of the Kumars who grew almost every day in their powers of observation. The lessons which they learnt in the first tour, says Mr. Fraser, "can only have been undoubted and enforced by what they have now seen of the South, each tour that they make renders them more fit to enjoy and appreciate the next." The progress in studies was also satisfactory though it must be admitted that the peculiar traits of His Highness' mind continued almost in the same style as before :—"His Highness the Raja has done a good year's work and has shown unfailing industry and interest in his studies. In History and Elementary Science he has done well, but Mathematics remain a weak subject chiefly owing to the want of exactness and carefulness in thought. In the same way, though his grasp of the English language has creditably increased, petty mistakes of carelessness in writing and spelling easily within his own power to correct mar his composition. His tastes are all for dogs, guns and horses and he shows little fondness for reading for its own sake but there has been some slight growth in this direction during the past year. The state of his physique is satisfactory, for though he has not grown taller in the past twelve months, neither has he become stouter, as was to be feared and his weight, thanks to regular exercise, remains the same."

During the hot weather vacation which followed at Kolhapur and at Mahableshwar, His Highness had several attacks of fever and, the malarial taint accompanying him to

Dharwar, he had another slight attack on the 23rd June; but after that he recovered his usual health.

Her Highness Lakshmibai Saheb, the young Maharani, was also making very satisfactory progress in her studies, as also in music, needle-work and games. She is described by her Tutor Miss Little as "intelligent and persevering" and by regular attention to her lessons, she gave pleasure to Miss Little, the Lady Superintendent of Female Education, who almost daily attended her for some hours.

The Maharaja spent his summer of 1892 at Mahableshwar meeting European friends at the numerous social functions of the season. The winter season was utilised for the third tour, now to the Punjab and the Province of Sindh which were the only parts of India yet unseen by His Highness. The party consisting, as before, of His Highness, his brother, the Chief of Kagal and the Maharaja of Bhavnagar, &c., left Kolhapur on Friday, October 28th, 1892. "In fixing the date, we had the assistance of the State Astrologer, without whose sanction no Raja could auspiciously leave his city, if he paid any regard to the feelings of the older members of his family. At first 'the chosen prophet' had objected to the day, and it may be noticed that he generally does to any date any one else proposes, but the difficulty was overcome by recourse to the curious old ceremony of '*Prasthan*' which is as follows. On the lucky day and at the auspicious hour, His Highness with due formality and offering sends his sword to represent him (a Brahman would send a sacred thread, a trader, honey and a low caste man, some fruit), the sword is placed in the house of some respectable man on the way to the station, whence the Raja fetches it, after further offering and ceremonies when actually starting. However in spite of the propitiatory ceremonies, Friday kept true to its unlucky reputation, for when all arrangements to set out had been made, general rain set in over the country with violence unusual at that season of the year and breached the line of S. M. Railway

by which we were to travel, in several places between Kolhapur and Poona. Not until Sunday were trains able to run through and even then it looked as if another shower would sweep away the temporary diversion laid across the nullah at one of the worst breaches between Jejuri and Rajewadi; but we had done with bad luck, as we hoped, for the whole tour, and though very late, the party and kit finally got through to Poona and thence to Dadar on the afternoon of the 31st. Here we caught the B. B. & C. I. night-mail for Abu, which was to be the first halt in the programme."

"In the early morning of the 1st November His Highness was met at the Baroda Railway Station, according to previous arrangement, by the Dewan of Baroda and other State Officials, and getting out of the train, spent the ten minutes halt with the mother of Her Highness Ahilyabai Ranisaheb and some relations of his wife, who took this opportunity to catch a glimpse of him. Former intermarriages have created much friendship between the great Maratha families of Baroda and Kolhapur and this good feeling has been kindled afresh by the recent alliance of the Raja with a lady connected with the Baroda House."

The party reached Abu on the 1st of November and seeing there the "finest Jain temples of India the glory of which does not consist, as with the gigantic temples of Southern India, in the general effect but in the exquisite detail and finish of the marble interiors," they left that place on the 5th and passing through Marwar "whose enterprising people, unable to live in their own barren land, fatten on the Maratha ryot and returning to Marwar with the spoils of the South, turn the tables on the Marathas for their lootings and invasions during the last (*i.e.*, the eighteenth) century," reached Jodhpur the next day. Sir Jaswant Singh, the head of the celebrated Rathor Clan, and his brother Colonel Sir Pratap Singh received His Highness at the station and laid the foundations of a friendship which lasted to the last days of

their lives. Jodhpur, so famous for sport and sportsmanship, gave His Highness many lessons in Shikar which he learnt with great zeal and assiduity. The day was devoted to pigsticking which was one of the favourite sports of His High ness throughout his life and is thus described by the chronicler of these tours :—"The sport for which this place is famous is pigsticking, the like of which is hardly to be obtained elsewhere in India in these days, and we had been looking forward to this part of the visit in particular. Accordingly the next morning we were up at 5 a.m. ready when Sir Pratap called for us, and drove out about 3 miles from the town to the ground which of course is strictly preserved. The party including the young Maharaj Kumar, the heir-apparent, a charming boy of eleven, who speaks excellent English and several young Rajput gentlemen. Capital mounts were provided for all and the horses, many of which had been trained by Sir Pratap himself, had noticeably light mouths and were well used to the game. Moving about a mile and a half from the road we found ourselves in a sandy plain with scanty crops between a low range of hills to the east and a large patch of open scrub jungle which held the pig. No beaters were used except a few men on camels, which, strange to say, the pig seldom or never touch in charging, but the whole field except our party, headed by Hiraji, A.-D.-C. to Sir Pratap, the smartest rider in the State, entered the brushwood and riding about in line gradually forced a boar to break cover towards the hills. Then we were off. Buwa Saheb was the first to get a try at him, but riding with more valour than discretion, missed, and the boar nearly swept his horse off its hind legs. Others took up the running and to the gratification of all, His Highness got the first spear and the boar, dying after a gallant fight, proved to be a good sized one. Returning to the same posts near the edge of the scrub we waited for another but the pig, not liking the idea of the open, would not break; so we were called in to join the

beaters. After a short run among the bushes, the boar took refuge in a thicket, but Sir Pratap, a sportsman of many resources, was not to be defied and hurling his spear, struck the pig just about the heart and dropped it on the spot. No more were found. So we returned homewards, very pleased with the sport and looking forward to more at even a better place the next day."

Ulwar was the next destination of the party. The visit to Ulwar coincided with certain tragic events which took place there in consequence of the fatal habit of drinking, contracted by the Maharaja of Ulwar. The Political Officers wished to improve him and employed one Kunj Behari to watch His Highness and wean him from the drinkings. The result was that under instructions from the Maharaja, his favourite, one Major Ramchandra, got Behari murdered and the Maharaja had himself to follow suit the next day, though not at the hands of an assassin, as a result of hard drinking. The investigation which had to be held by British Officers ended in a trial of Ramchandra and his lieutenant Akey Singh for murder. The two accused had been sentenced to death just before the Kolhapur party reached Ulwar. Discussing this murder with a neighbouring chief, a British Officer, we are informed by Mr. Fraser, was told that it was no doubt dreadful to use swords; for, as the chief said, "poison is the usual thing!"

Bharatpur whose famous Fort had repulsed Lord Lake was reached on the 12th. Here as elsewhere in the States of Rajputana, our Maharaja was impressed with the superiority of the military equipment that he saw there in comparison with what he knew to have existed in his own land; but we are told "he was not slow to point out that in the matter of roads, schools, hospitals and such like civil institutions, Kolhapur and the S. M. States seem even to rapid travellers like ourselves, far in advance of the States of the North." The next visit was to Delhi where they had some very pleasant

Shikar. Thence the party went to Mathura taking Govardhan Hill on the way. When at this Hill "we were of course beset by swarms of shouting Brahman beggars and as in the story the Russian peasant threw out the baby as a sop to the pursuing wolves, so we sacrificed old Mr. Gokhale to keep them in check with copper coins while His Highness beat a hasty retreat to the carriage. The plague of priests had begun now in earnest and touts who had come all the way to Bharatpur and Delhi to meet the Raja and bespeak his custom at the sacred bathing Ghats of Mathura, followed us in speedy one-horse ekkas." The most important incident of the visit to Mathura was probably the address which the Arya Samaj of the place presented to His Highness. The connection which the Samaj thus established with him led to many important developments in his future life. Brindavan came next. But there too the pleasure of sight-seeing was spoilt by the filthy howling swarm of beggars who assailed His Highness' party with even more pertinacity than the Brahmans of Benares had done. This pestering crowd of priests was so annoying that "I found it always necessary to have a guard of police to keep His Highness' compound clear of priests and their touts who would not scruple to enter the very house, and I should recommend every other Raja who visits Brindavan to take the sepoys with him also when visiting the temples, for force alone will keep back the shouting mob. Even when we took to the carriages, the only way to escape from the crowd was to throw out handfuls of coppers and to press on while the pursuers stopped to fight for the coins. Apropos of holy men, a rather nice point arose in Mathura between two priests who claimed the right to have the Raja's signature in their books. As is well known, in every holy city such as Nasik, Allahabad, Benares and Hardwar, there are families of hereditary priests and every pilgrim of high or low degree goes to that priest whose ancestors have ministered to his

ancestors. The ceremonies at the time of bathing are lucrative and the priest preserve with the utmost care a list of the names of their clients, signed by them and going back for many generations. In India going on pilgrimages is the chief religious duty and to the lower classes, perhaps, the favourite way of taking pleasure so that few men, however humble, fail to find a priest to claim some ancestors of theirs, and the Raja's and Bhavsinghji's cook and barbers were discovered and seized by their own Brahmans as their masters were by theirs. Two men claimed the right to His Highness, one on the score of his natural father's (the late Chief of Kagal's) signature, and the other proceeding from a record of a grant of land from a very old ruler of Satara, whose name and date could not at the time be properly made out; so the point had to be left for settlement afterwards as to whether the grant dated before or after 1730 when the Kolhapur Raj separated from Satara. If dated before the line of Shivaji was divided, the claim would apply to His Highness, but if after, the professed connection with Kolhapur fell to the ground. It was impossible to make the priests understand that the young chiefs were tourists and not pilgrims, and no doubt I was heartily abused for the small presents given instead of the very large sums paid by other Hindu visitors of similar rank."

Saharanpur and Hardwar were visited next. The party thence proceeded to Amritsar which they reached on the 22nd. After seeing the Golden Temple and the Bazar, so well-known for its shawls and other woollens, they started for Peshawar which they reached at 4 p.m. on 24th. This visit gave His Highness a vivid idea of what the Indian frontier with its peculiar problems is. Spending over a week there, the party returned to Lahore where they spent three days in seeing historical places like the Shah Derra and the Fort. Multan was visited next. The most interesting sight of the place was "the artist, a mere boy, drawing in the patterns

on a plain white vase. Using a fine hairbrush, he filled in with hereditary and instinctive skill a pattern of intricate design as fast and as faultlessly as we could write our names." Sukkur was reached at 9 o'clock the next morning, the 7th. The only sight worth seeing there was the gigantic cantilever bridge with a single gigantic span of nearly 900 feet. In fact the visit to Sindh was not meant for sight-seeing of which there was little there. Shooting was the main object. "The first thing done, therefore, on arrival had been to summon an old Shikar recommended to us, Bahadur Ali Saheb, and to inquire about the chance of a shoot. It was early for duck and snipe, but of black partridge he held out a hope at Puno-Akil, two stations up the line, whither accordingly, arrangements for camels and beaters having been made by telegram, we started on the morning of the 8th. The Raja was met at the station by the Mukthyarkar and the Zamindar, Abdul Khair, on whose land we were to shoot, and mounting camels, we rode to the grounds about two miles away where extensive patches of tamarisk bush, the common tree of Sindh, were interspersed between the fields. The shooting is preserved by the Zamindar, a land-owner of a worthy type, commoner here than in the Presidency proper, who told us with pride that he had shown sport to several Governors and Commanders-in-Chief. The birds were fairly numerous and by the afternoon we had twenty couple and a few hares and should have had more had we shot straighter. Though hot, it was a very pleasant day, and the boys were glad to make their first acquaintance with the black partridge which is even handsomer, more sporting in flight and better to eat than the francolin of the Deccan, and both the Raja and Bhavsingji talked of trying to introduce it into their own States. The experiment would be an interesting one and would have a better chance of being successful in a native state under the personal care of its Chief than it could have in any British districts."

Leaving for Hyderabad, the party passed Kotri on the 10th and Jangshahi the next day. At Satta they had to commence their journey by riding camels, the first experience the Kumars had of its kind.

"The next day we had a beat for hog-deer which of course is an animal not found in the Deccan, and so we were particularly anxious to get one. Two beats of extensive patches of scrub jungle failed unfortunately to produce any of the deer, but pigs were pretty numerous and the Raja and Dattaji got one apiece. The Mirs of Sindh used to kill great numbers of hog-deer by encouraging them to accumulate in preserved enclosures and shooting them when driven out at certain gaps in the fence, but a really sporting way of killing these animals, not followed I believe with any other Indian deer, is by the use of a call, in which some Shikaris and a few Sahebs have attained much skill. Our way home took us through one of the big babul forests, the only timber that grows to any size in Sindh. The last day at Sujawal was spent in another attempt at the duck, the party dividing into two boats and trying this time the more open country where the floods were over the fields, but again the duck were not found to be numerous enough to give more than an occasional shot until the evening when the birds began to move about and we had some very pretty flight-shooting."

On the 15th, the party took train to Karachi which they reached the next day. "At the station the Raja was met by the Hon. Udayram Mulchand who had made arrangements for His Highness to be put in the Government bungalow in the Merewether gardens, a house which possessed a particular interest for the Kolhapur members of the party, for, from certain arrangements of the rooms they recognised the familiar Maratha plan and found that it had been occupied during his exile by Chimma Saheb, brother of the then ruler, Shivaji Maharaja, who was banished to Sindh in 1857 for his part in the mutiny at Kolhapur. His tomb lies in the garden close by."

A two days' voyage across the Arabian Sea brought the party back to Bombay to renew their old acquaintances with the Fort, the Indian Town and Malabar Hill. His Highness had now seen practically the whole of his own country and returning to Bombay after a visit to most of the big cities of India and Ceylon, he was glad to admit " that there is none to compare with Bombay in beauty and variety of interest," one of the chief attractions to him being the stables of Arab and Waler horses among whom he spent a good many hours and picked out some new animals for his State. Poona the same night, Miraj the next morning, Belgaum at midday and Dharwar at 5 o'clock in the evening brought the party home again on Christmas eve and familiar as the journey was, it gained new interest when they compared the landscape with that of the many hundreds of miles recently passed through and " the conclusion we all came to was that hill-scenery apart, then there is no prettier piece of country in India than the bamboo jungles and wooded undulating districts between Belgaum and Dharwar."

When the new year opened, Mr. R. V. Sabnis—the intimate and life-long friend and trusted Diwan of the Maharaja—joined the party at Dharwar as Indian tutor to his future master. Mr. K. B. Gokhale who hitherto held the post had sought retirement since the beginning of the preceding year and Mr. Fraser had asked for the appointment of some one who could be tried as an Indian companion to His Highness during his then proposed trip to England in 1893. Though the trip was not undertaken then, Mr. Sabnis, who was then acting Head Master of the Thana High School, was engaged to take Mr. Gokhale's place in the household of the Maharaja. Of the retiring tutor, Mr. Fraser wrote thus :—" Mr. Gokhale has known the Raja since he was a little boy and has given conscientious and unceasing care to his health and training. He is a gentleman of the highest personal character, kind, yet a good disciplinarian, a strict observer of old manners but

liberal in thought and with a high ideal of what his pupil should be. His Highness would have come into my hands, three years ago, very different than he was had he not been so fortunate in the man appointed to be his tutor, and whatever success His Highness may achieve in life, Mr. Gokhale may justly have the satisfaction of claiming that he it was who laid the foundations."

His successor Mr. Sabnis joined in January 1893. After the usual work at Dharwar during term time which was only broken for a short while by the visit to the Chinchali Fair and Cattle Show opened by Lord Harris, the party spent their Summer holidays at Mahableshwar. His Highness returned to Kolhapur on the 19th May where the final ceremonies in connection with his marriage took place about the end of that month. The second term of this the last year of the Maharaja's tutelage ended on November 15th. At the end of this term the Maharaja started to make a tour through his own districts. The Government had already indicated its intention to invest the Maharaja with the full powers of his position and it was but natural that he should have now, on the eve of his accession, desired to see something of his State with his own eyes.

" The places he visited were Hatkalangada, Ichalkaranji, Shirol, Kurundwad, Nipani (Belgaum district), Gadinglaj, Ajra, Dhangarmola, Gargoti, Waki, Dajipur and Amba. In this way something was seen of the territory under the chief feudatories as well as the different varieties of country, the black soil plains of the east and rugged hill districts of the Sahyadri, comprising the Kolhapur State. His Highness took the opportunity to make a cursory inspection of the Kacheris, Schools and Dispensaries and to form the acquaintance of the District officials with many of whom he discussed matters belonging to their departments. Everywhere the Raja was received with the warmest enthusiasm by the Jahagirdars and ryots who flocked in from miles to see the first grown-up

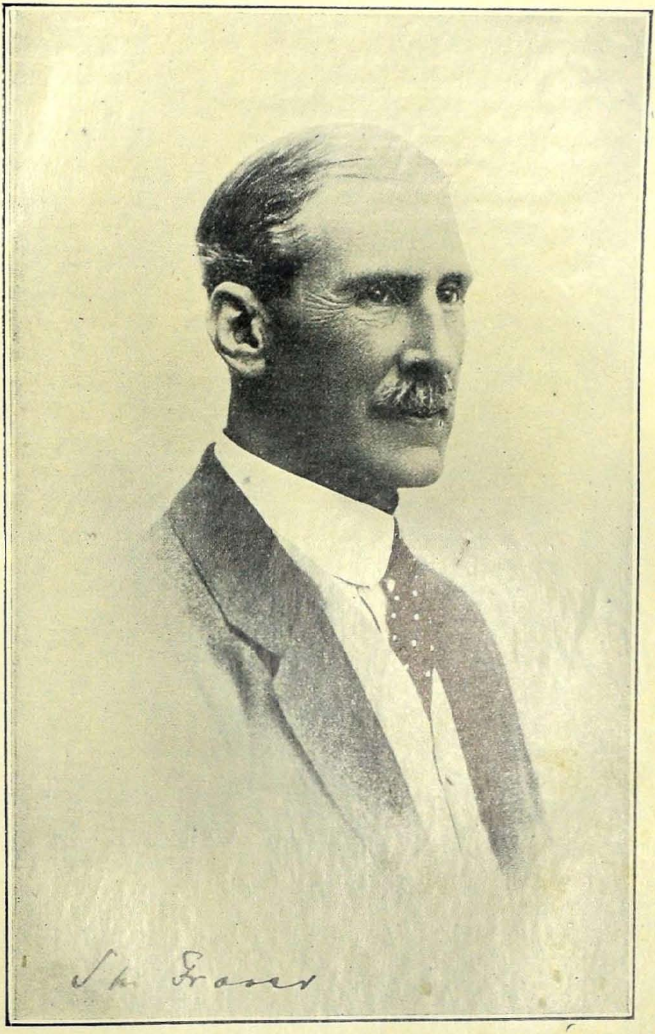
ruler of Kolhapur who had visited the outlying parts of the State for fifty years, and the people of Hatkalangada, Shirol, Gadinglaj, Nipani and Gargoti spontaneously subscribed large sums for decorations and fireworks in his honour. On passing through Ichalkaranji, His Highness was hospitably welcomed by the Chief and the Pant Pratinidhi spared no pains in entertaining the party for two days at Malkapur.

"With regard to the subjects studied by His Highness and his brother during the past year, the intention has been to give them some knowledge of general principles of Government and legislation and of the more important laws regulating the chief branches of administration. With this object I have delivered to them lectures on jurisprudence and legislation, particularly in connection with Indian political law and they have studied the treaties which bind the Kolhapur State and the historical events which gave rise to them.

"Notes have also been given on the village and district police system and having revised a summary of the penal and criminal procedure code, both His Highness and his brother have attended the court of the Chief Judge and taken down the evidence of selected criminal cases under trial. Further lectures have been given on the old and existing system of land revenue administration with an account of the Alienation Settlement in this State. The system of village revenue accounts and the elaborate accounts kept in the Khasgi Department have also been studied. At the same time important subjects of general education have not been entirely dropped."

This closes the apprentice period of the Maharaja's life. With all the men connected with him until then he maintained cordial relations throughout his life. But if a selection is to be made, the name of Mr. (now Sir) S. M. Fraser must be given the place of honour. He was as kind-hearted as he was strict in discipline. As we have seen, Rajkote also failed to have the desired results and the Maharaja never

thought very highly of the Rajkumar College as he had known it. Mr. Fraser, however, left a lasting impression on the mind of his pupil who entertained nothing but respect and affection for him. Looking at the school days of the Maharaja as a whole, the variety of treatment and experience which he got led to nothing but a most desirable result. It gave him an idea of what sympathy meant in human life and what a difference its want made even for a Prince of his standing. The love of a hard life which characterised him throughout was, partly at any rate, due to these experiences of his school days. Among the various forces which went to form the mind of the Maharaja, this contrast between the honey of human sympathy in men like Mr. Fraser and the hard-hearted apathy of others was not the least important. His Highness became in his own life a subtle combination of tenderness and hard-heartedness, a result which could be produced by putting the two into one. The abiding affection which His Highness felt for his teachers found expression in more ways than one. When Mr. Fraser left his royal pupil at Kolhapur a few weeks after his installation, His Highness tried hard, though unsuccessfully, to obtain the consent of the Government to a present from the pupil to his Guru. But the Civil Service Regulations prevented this being done and the Maharaja had to give up the idea.



Sir S. M. Fraser, K.C.I.E.

CHAPTER VI.

The Initial Problems.

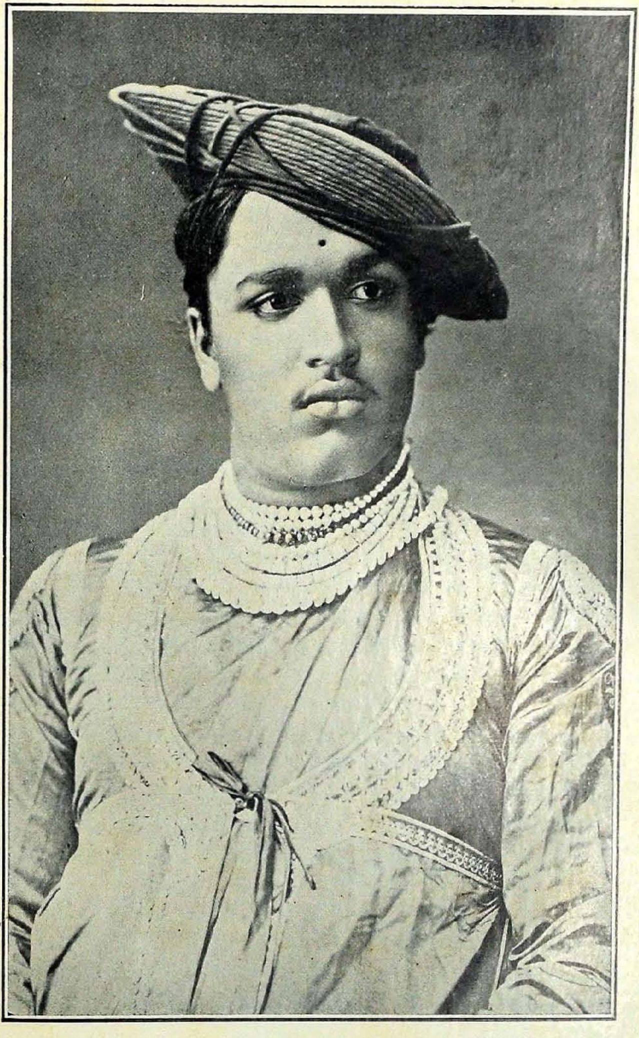
The Investiture—The position of an Indian Prince—The initial difficulties—The reorganisation of the State—The Intrigues—The old order changeth—The introduction of Non-Brahmins into the Administration—The Power of capital punishment restored—The progress of the State.

HIS HIGHNESS SHRI SHAHU CHHATRAPATI MAHARAJA was invested with the full powers of his high office on April 2, 1894. The pomp and ceremony which accompanied the Investiture were fully in keeping with the historic importance of the occasion. The whole of the Deccan, British as much as Indian, flocked to Kolhapur to witness the celebrations. Not only the people of Kolhapur but of the whole of the Maharashtra—no class or community excepted—were stirred to the inmost depths of their hearts by the mere fact that the Gadi of Shivaji's House, vacant and overtaken by ill-luck for many long years, was about to be worthily occupied by a Prince whose simplicity of manners had won all who came to know him. The misgivings which the proposal about Shahu Maharaja visiting England before being invested with powers gave rise to, only indicated that the public at large had become anxious that the Gadi of Kolhapur should not remain vacant a moment longer than was absolutely unavoidable. They instinctively feared that the trip to England might create fresh, though unknown and vague, dangers which might again frustrate the public hopes. It was in view of this state of public feeling that Lord Harris, the Governor of Bombay, spoke in these terms at the Investiture Darbar:—" I deem myself fortunate that during my tenure of that office it falls to the Governor

of Bombay to confirm the pledge which the Paramount Power gave to the people of Kolhapur when it selected Your Highness to succeed to the throne which you and your ancestors have derived from the immortal Shivaji. I can well understand, Sir, that after an experience of the misfortunes that have attended your house for nearly thirty years, the people of this State have been anxiously, perhaps impatiently, looking forward to the day when the rightful heir should ascend that throne and, under such arrangements as may seem best to yourself, commence to administer their affairs."

At the arduous functions which were incidental to the ceremony, His Highness discharged his own part very ably. Thus, in replying to the toast proposed by His Highness, His Excellency said :—" The manly tone of Your Highness' speeches, the excellent matter contained in them and the sympathetic tone which pervades them, will, I feel sure, satisfy all who have heard them, that the State of Kolhapur may look forward to one who will bear himself as a Prince ought before his subjects and at the same time will not be above interesting himself in their meanest affairs. (Applause.) It has been my good fortune to have made your acquaintance from my earliest entry into this Presidency and it has been a sincere pleasure to me to notice how rapidly the strength of your mind has developed, how keen is now the interest you take in public affairs, and how clear is the perception you have formed on many subjects which I have discussed with you. I augur from this that in the important work you have now to undertake, you will bring these same qualities to bear with the result, that your subjects may look up to one who, when their affairs are before him, will, as an official should, weigh each side calmly in the balance in order that he may arrive at a just and fair conclusion."

During the course of these celebrations, His Highness issued the following proclamation to his people :—"It is



His Highness in 1894.

Our earnest desire that Our subjects should always be happy and contented, that their welfare should increase from day to day and that Our State should go on prospering in all respects. In promoting this object, We rely on the most loyal and hearty co-operation of Our Jahagirdars, Relatives, Sardars, Mankaris, Inamdars, Kamdars, Mercantile classes of all ranks and all other subjects. We invoke with undivided attention the blessings of the Ruler of the Universe, the Highest Spirit, on Our career commenced this day that it may last and prove beneficial."

The ceremonies and rejoicings being over, His Highness' first duty was to examine the whole position and see what steps he ought to take to create an environment which would facilitate the accomplishment of his own aims. The first task which an Indian Prince has to face on his accession to the Gadi is to secure his own position in his State. What this means, what difficulties he must overcome before his legs are firm on the ground, is not easy to describe to those who have not obtained intimate experience of an Indian State. He possesses indeed very full powers of internal administration—so full that sometimes they are compared with the powers of the Czar in the heyday of the Czardom, with this difference that the Indian Chief has no international obligations such as the Czar had to discharge. There is some truth in this. The constitutional position of an Indian Prince frees him from all direct responsibilities in foreign affairs and, uncontrolled by any popular institutions, he may be presumed to be his own master in his own State. But as has been rightly said, the most absolute monarch is often the least powerful ruler and if this maxim is true in any case, it is so in that of the Chief of an Indian State. The weakness of his position primarily springs from the fact that his authority is based on a foundation of sand. Monarchical Governments depend ultimately for the justification of their authority on the strength of their arms which in the case of an Indian Chief

does not exist. The popular will, the source of all sovereignty according to political theorists, cannot express itself in the State over which he rules and, could it come into being and seek an expression, no Indian Prince could look to it for support or inspiration in case of need or difficulty. He is in fact, if not in theory, a ruler by the will of the suzerain power and continues to be a ruler during the pleasure of the representative of that power. It is only fair to admit that the fault of this obviously anomalous and unsatisfactory position lies, not with the present generation of our chiefs, nor yet with the Political Officers who wield the authority vested in the King-Emperor, but in the historical antecedents of the States themselves. If any State in India has a moral right to exist as an independent sovereignty, it is beyond doubt the State of Kolhapur. Its existence was not due to foreign aggression as in the case of some of the Moslem States of India. It is not the wreck of a fallen Empire, pretending to be an independent State, owing no obligations to its erstwhile parent Government, as is the case of some of the chiefships on the borders of Kolhapur. It is not the imposition of an unsought yoke on an alien people, justified only by the right of conquest. Instances of this class may be found in the Mahratta Governments of Gujarat and Malwa. The Kolhapur Raj owes its origin to the free will of its own people. It was the spirit of the Mahratta nation asserting itself and finding its own reality that brought the Raj into being. And while other States with far weaker moral claims to exist have been recognised as being higher in rank and status, Kolhapur came to occupy an almost unenviable position in the scale of Indian States for no other fault than what may be traced in its own history.

Situated as Kolhapur was when the Maharaja ascended the ancient Gadi of Kolhapur, hallowed still more by the glories of the immortal House of Shivaji, he found that the prestige of Kolhapur was reduced to a very low level on account of the events briefly outlined in Chapter II. A long

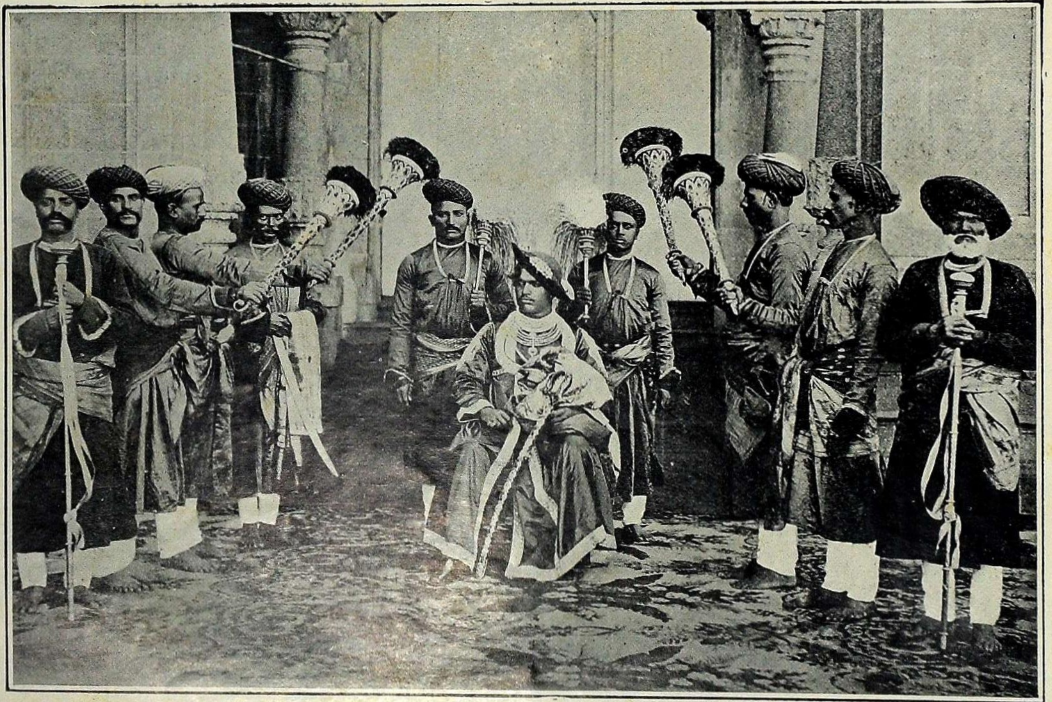
series of years under Regency or Council rule had given rise to ambitions, fortified by precedents, which rendered the position of the Prince still more weak. Bereft of many of the powers and dignities of a first class Indian Prince, the Maharaja found himself surrounded by an oligarchy accustomed to look upon power as its natural monopoly and expecting a continuance of the same domination in Kolhapur affairs even under the Maharaja. The Political Agent was for about two generations the virtual autocrat of Kolhapur and the change from the direct headship of the State to the position of a Political Agent in a State of which the Maharaja desired to be the *de facto* as he was the *de jure* ruler was a difficult one. As this narrative proceeds, it will be seen how the transition caused anxiety to the Maharaja. It may be sufficient here to say that within a few months of his accession, a question arose as to whether the Maharaja should himself go to the Railway station to see the Political Agent off whenever he went on tour or to welcome him there on his return. The claim urged on behalf of the P.A. was on a par with others which required no little tact and strength of character for their solution. Writing in October (1894) Mr. F. (a personal friend of His Highness) says :—" You say that the Council and the high officers do not obey readily. This was to be expected under the circumstances ; but Maharaja, you will save much trouble in the future, if you from the first make every one see that you are the master."

The circumstances referred to in this letter were so strong that His Highness had to undergo many risks before he could conquer them. The Council consisted of three officers all of whom had been the virtual masters of their own departments. Two of them, the Diwan Khan Bahadur Taraporewalla and the Chief Judge B. N. Joshi, stood in relations of close personal friendship with the late Abasaheb, the Maharaja's father in the family of his birth, and consequently claimed more than the respect due to old and tried

officers of the State. Outside the Council, some of the principal posts were held by Europeans of considerable standing. The P. W. D., the Medical Department, the College, Female education, and the Maternity Section of the Albert Edward Hospital were directly under the control of European employees of the State. Except Dr. Sinclair, the Darbar Surgeon who had made Kolhapur his permanent home, all the rest had to leave the State Service one by one. So far back as November 1895, a friend of his informed the Maharaja that there was a general complaint that Europeans were not wanted in Kolhapur Service. Mrs. Sykes resigned on 1st January 1896; Mr. Shannon went on leave and resigned about 1896-97; Miss Little resigned on 20th August 1895. The Maharaja gave a characteristically outspoken reply :—"You know that I like a mixture of different races (castes) in the administration and I have a high opinion of the work done by European Officers, especially the good discipline they are able to maintain. I had an idea of engaging a European as my Palace Officer and with that view employed a man from Poona. Perhaps you may have heard under what circumstances he left me. What I do not like about some of my European subordinates is, that on the least occasion they carry complaints to the Political Agent."

This unfortunately was not the last time that His Highness had to complain on this score. The first few years of his rule were given to a considerable amount of worry on account of the insubordination of some of his officials, especially European. It was these difficulties that he had to wade through before he was able to make himself his own master.

The very first task before His Highness was to create a machinery which would make the transition from Council rule to the Maharaja rule smooth and easy. On the first of February 1894, two months prior to the date of investiture, H. E. Lord Harris drew the Maharaja's attention to the need for devising means for this purpose. "I should especially



His Highness shortly after His Installation.

and in your own interests and those of your subjects," he wrote, "invite you to make preparation beforehand for an orderly and organised system of central administration. . . . " And further "what I suggest therefore to Your Highness in a friendly way is that the distribution of the work of your State should be a matter of present concern to you, so that if possible the work may go on without hitch or check on the day after your installation as easily as it does now." The Maharaja was thus called on to select a Huzur Chitnis whom he could trust and who would carry out his wishes faithfully and accurately. The unhappy position of an Indian ruler surrounded by servants who could not be fully trusted by their master was described to the Maharaja by a Political Officer of very high standing in these words :— "Anxious as I know you are to bear your full measure of responsibilities and to do right by your subjects, I trust that you are able to place confidence in your subordinates. An honest ruler surrounded by men whom he cannot trust is tempted to take too much on himself and to feel over much the burden of his position. I have always thought that the G. (an Indian Prince) means well, but has worried himself into an attitude of mistrust and uncertainty and indecision, by the feeling which every one who bears office in India must feel, that he cannot depend upon all of his subordinates. Brahman intrigue is, alas! not the only intrigue, and I have found Marathas and other classes quite equal to it. This advice may be unnecessary as I really know nothing about the present state of Kolhapur but I do know that its Maharaja has an honest and kind heart and I know how severely the honest man is likely to be taxed when he finds that his honest orders have to be carried out by Bapats and Namjoshis."

His Highness fully realised this difficulty and at the very outset of his career, when he had to select his Secretary, the choice was made in consultation with Mr. Fraser and fell upon Mr. R. V. Sabnis, who had then been with the Maharaja

for more than a year. A staff consisting of picked men from the State Service was placed in the new Huzur Office. This was not however the most important part of the work. The difficulty was to make the heads of departments accommodate themselves to the new order and this gave rise to many questions which required all the tact of the Maharaja to solve. In one case, it was found that the budget estimate of a few hundred rupees for the repairs of a well was exceeded by several thousands and the Huzur Office called for an explanation from Mr. Shannon, the Executive Engineer. What a sacrilege it was for the layman of the Huzur Office to question the work of the veteran head of the P. W. D.? Straight goes Mr. Shannon to His Highness and asks him what expert wisdom in the H. O. dared to find fault with the expenditure which he had incurred and thought necessary? The poor Overseer who was in charge of the P. W. D. dafter in the H. O. trembled in his shoes and the Executive Engineer expected that he would demolish for good the audacity of his ex-subordinate, now in the central office, by thus remonstrating with the new Maharaja. Coolly did the Maharaja receive all these protests from his Executive Engineer and his equally cool reply was that he—the young ruler of the State—himself felt dissatisfied with an estimate which worked out at many times the anticipated expenditure when turned into actuals and that his office only asked for an explanation which the Maharaja himself required. Mr. Shannon quietly walked out without uttering a word. The Council of the State presented to His Highness the budget for the first year of his rule. The Maharaja thus describes the way he dealt with it:—"When the budget was first brought to me for sanction, it showed a deficit of 60,000 rupees and after proposing changes, I desired the Council to consider them and make retrenchments without prejudice to works of utility and now the two ends just meet. I had a mind to have a saving of about 50,000, but that could not be done. I have relieved the Chief

Judge of most of his work as District Judge and left him free to advise me in judicial matters. I find that I have reserved to myself rather too much work, but for the first year I am not going to give it up, as I think I shall be able to learn much by going actually over the details that now come before me. In important matters I consult the Council and carefully mark on what principles they decide the matters laid before them. In this way, I hope to learn much in the course of a year."

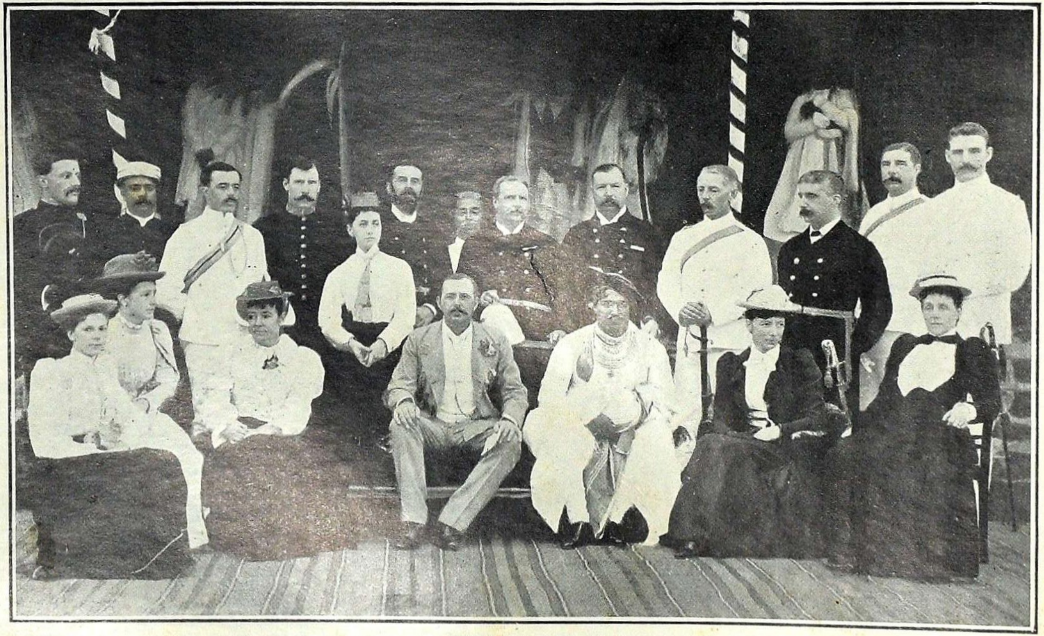
A worse evil had to be faced when a certain high European official in the State was refused Exchange Compensation. "I am sorry to have to inform you, as we reasonably could not grant Exchange Compensation to Mr.** he got displeased and wrote a rather insolent letter and even went to Government. The Government sided with us, and he had to apologise for the letter and withdrew it. But the only thing that pains me is that he circulated false reports about me among European circles, as I learn from a reliable source."

This 'insolent' tone was not confined to any particular race of his officials. From the very earliest time, His Highness desired to employ educated young men from the backward communities in the State Service and with this object in view, he ordered the appointment of a Jain undergraduate from one of the villages of his own State to a post in the Revenue Department. The Chief Judge Mr. Joshi at once took His Highness to task. While Brahmin graduates are available for smaller pay, what right has the Maharaja, asked Mr. Joshi, to prefer a non-Brahmin undergraduate for the Service? The result was that His Highness had to cancel the order and ask the young man, who was then in the B.A. class, to wait till he graduated. The trouble which beset his path during all these early years is clearly hinted at in the following letter written by an Englishman who had wide personal knowledge of the Native States:—

"Do you find intrigues troublesome and is the usual scare which is served up to all ruling Princes of the intrigues

in the Agency Office still troubling you? So many ruling chiefs have expressed to me their anxieties on that account. I cannot, however, record a single instance in which my Native subordinates have coloured my glasses or made me act upon their tales without the evidence of my own senses. I do not think that you need fear any thing so long as you can always speak to the Agent himself, whenever you are in doubt. As I said to you, never believe the stories that the Agent said this or that, or is pleased or displeased; but simply go and ask him his views direct, and then there can be no misunderstanding."

The only point which the shrewd writer of this advice overlooked was that all Agents were not Lee Warners and that when a person of lesser capacity for work occupies that post, the intrigues which admittedly exist assume a more serious aspect. The Maharaja was fortunate in his later years in having able Agents in his State and as time wore on, his relations with the Agency Office were perfectly harmonious. But in the days of which I am writing just now, His Highness had to be very anxious indeed, though ultimately he came out with flying colours from all the troubles he had to pass through. Those who were in his service tried to retain their positions and prestige through the influence of the Agency and others who were outsiders were trying to get in through that door. Complaints were heard as early as 1895 that a certain man failed to get a job in the State although the Diwan mentioned Col. H. as the person who was interested in him and desired to see him employed. Col. W. wished to employ Dr. D.—a Brahmin gentleman—as an Assistant Surgeon in the Albert Edward Hospital and this was how he conveyed his advice to the young Maharaja:—"I wrote to the Diwan on the 11th instant suggesting Dr. D. and he told me the day before yesterday that he would represent to Your Highness my advice to appoint that officer here on 6 months' trial. So I was surprised to hear yesterday that



H. E. Lord Harris and His Highness after the Installation.

Dr. Dorabseth had been written to, or some one else written to about him. The advice I offer to Your Highness is to appoint Dr. D. here on probation for 6 months as Extra Assistant Surgeon in the Albert Edward Hospital which is necessary at present, and if Your Highness is anxious to employ Dr. Dorabseth, to try him under the Municipality as Municipal Doctor, which is also an arrangement that is greatly needed, considering the serious danger which is now threatening the Kolhapur town and State."

When even this did not move the Maharaja, the Colonel complained :—" I can only say that I regret exceedingly that you have not thought fit to take my advice in the matter of the appointment of an additional medical officer in view of the serious danger from plague that is threatening the Kolhapur Town and State." And again :—" I may remind Your Highness that your personal physician is a Brahmin and that every single native medical subordinate in this State except one is a Brahmin. It is therefore difficult to understand why there should be objection to the temporary appointment of an experienced medical officer at this critical time merely because he happens to be a Brahmin."

This was not the end of the complications. The Diwan, a Parsee gentleman of much influence, wished to employ a Parsee Doctor instead of a Brahmin. The Maharaja wanted neither and finally carried his own point. But this struggle between opposing forces in the State to get the mastery over the Maharaja gave him many anxious days of work. The end of these troubles was reached only after Col. W. retired with the fiasco of the Poison Case of 1899. By that time, however, the entire *personnel* of the Administration had to be altered. The retirement of Mr. Vaidya, the Chief Revenue Officer, opened the way of Mr. Sabnis to the Council and the death of Mr. Joshi, the Chief Judge, made room for Mr. K. N. Pandit, a junior Brahmin Officer, as Chief Judge and member of Council over the head of Mr. V. B. Gokhale, who stood

next to Mr. Joshi. The differences between Col. Wray and the Diwan indicated by the controversy about the appointment of an Assistant Surgeon led to the retirement of Khan Bahadur Meherji Kuvarji Taraporwalla who was succeeded by Mr. Sabnis whose office was given to Mr. R. R. Shirgokar. The exit of the Khan Bahadur was preceded by that of Mr. Dorabji Pallonjee, the Parsi Chief of Police of the State. Mr. C., the Principal of the College, was a source of considerable annoyance for many years. His defiant attitude had made him already odious to the Maharaja. He had become equally undesirable to Col. and Mrs. Wray. Left to himself, the Maharaja would have been content to leave Mr. C. alone after the apology he was made to tender for his behaviour. But as Mr. C. fell out with the Wrays, it became impossible to let the sleeping dog lie. The whole of the Missionary community in Kolhapur, another factor of importance, was on the side of Mr. C. who counted upon other friends also to back up his cause. Disinterested European friends were already suspicious and they were suggesting that Kolhapur wished to retain none of the Europeans. The American Missionaries wanted to strengthen the position of Mr. C. with the result that His Highness, acting under the advice of the P. A., was compelled to take steps especially in connection with the quarantine rules which affected the residence of these Europeans at Panhala and their movements in and out of Kolhapur which brought them into conflict with the State. Mr. Sinclair, the Darbar Surgeon, also fell into the bad books of the gallant Colonel who therefore wished to see him too out of Kolhapur. The Maharaja describes the position :—" Sometimes it happens that the P. A. gives one advice and * * gives a different one. In such a case you can only imagine the strength of * * who carried the point both against the P. A. and the Darbar. The worst of it is that spies are sent to watch the actions of high officials like Dr. Sinclair and others and even my friends and Sardars—

of course including myself and the missionaries—also share the same fate. All this to an outsider may look like exaggeration but any one living in Kolhapur or in the vicinity of Kolhapur will attest the truth of it. I assure you that this picture is not overdrawn and I am ready to show that it is underdrawn."

A conference of the American Missionaries petitioned (in 1898) the Bombay Government to appoint a commissioner to inquire into the plague measures of Col. Wray. Finding that this prayer remained unheeded, a writer in the columns of a Bombay daily thus voiced the feelings of the people in the matter :—" Among the large amount of correspondence which you have published on this subject, there have appeared remarks concerning the inaction of the Bombay Government. This, in view of the state of things in Kolhapur may, I think, be easily explained and the explanation can hardly be other than the manner in which the Political Agent throws the responsibility of his action or inaction upon the doors of this State with which the Bombay Government is unwilling to interfere. Col. Wray is the supreme plague authority here and that which is done, is his doing, but the Darbar has to take responsibilities of his actions. The recent changes made in the personnel of the Darbar have rendered that body a most pliant and supple instrument in his hands. This matter is one of a grave public concern to the people of this State, and calls for a searching inquiry into the condition of affairs. It has been suggested somewhere that the Maharaja should be placed at the head of local plague measures to ensure a better state of things, a very excellent suggestion if only the Maharaja could be set free from Colonel Wray's interference, but perfectly useless so long as Colonel Wray exercises the hold which he now possesses over the Darbar officials."

This summarises the difficulties of the Maharaja with a fair degree of precision though the weakness ascribed to the

officers could be as well explained by the fact that their master himself was compelled to be as weak. In sheer despair, His Highness describes how he found himself between two fires :—"You may have heard of Mr. C.'s transfer to Berars. With the new officer, I hope things will go on smoothly. It is however difficult to please all parties and I must be prepared to take my share of blame for things done against the wishes of some. As matters stand at present, it is almost impossible to keep all Europeans contented. I wish I could talk to you personally on this point. It is rather a long story and perhaps not desirable to put it on paper."

The public of Kolhapur too had their own share in making the task of His Highness arduous. The Indian Press, then more than now inspired entirely by sectional motives and half-suspecting that the Maharaja was out for a fight with the Brahmins—Mr. Taraporwalla while in office gave His Highness a clear warning that that game was detected by the public and, though his motives might be noble, the fight would be disastrous to his State—had been criticising the Darbar off and on. The changes in the personnel of the Council stirred them to a high pitch, but the unwary critics still believed that all these changes were imposed upon an unwilling ruler and the responsibility was therefore laid at the doors of the Agency. That mitigated the gravity of the Darbar's offence to some extent. What was said generally of these appointments was that the new men were wanting in experience and strength and that they were forced upon the Maharaja by an external will. The main feature of His Highness' policy was considered to be 'to subdue the influence of his officers and effect retrenchments.' The virulent attacks to which His Highness became accustomed were reserved for a future date. But it was clearly suggested that he was only a puppet Prince whose strings were being pulled from behind the curtains. A large section of the public thought that the Maharaja was playing into the hands of others.

The truth was that the critics were partly right and partly wrong. The new Ministry was entirely of his choice, though he must have found it necessary to take great pains in order to obtain the assent of his Political Agent to all the changes that this involved. But it was also true that, besides the worry of bringing round a P. A.—some of whose activities have been already alluded to—His Highness had sometimes to receive setbacks in his plans. Early in 1894 and shortly after His Highness assumed the management of the State, he had consulted Rao Bahadur Mhaske of Poona with reference to young and educated Maratha graduates available for employment in his service and had employed Mr. D. A. Vichare, an L.C.E., on the recommendation of Mr. Mhaske. What followed may be told in the words of a newspaper critic of the Maharaja :—" In making this selection, the claims of Mr. Tambe, who was the personal assistant to Mr. Shannon and acted as Executive Engineer whenever Mr. Shannon went on leave, were ignored and this caused a good deal of difference of opinion even among the advisers of His Highness. The appointment of Mr. Vichare having been received with total disapprobation by Col. Wray, the Political Agent, the result was that his services were nominally attached to the Huzur Office and the place of the Executive Engineer was kept unfilled. Lots of intrigues followed, as is common in such cases, for the last two years and now again Mr. Vichare has been made pucka State Executive Engineer."

Col. Wray was not the only opponent of this appointment. Friends whose words carried weight advised His Highness in this strain :—" What are you doing for a State Engineer ? Is Mr. Shannon returning ? If not, I trust that you will appoint some carefully selected European officer, as it would in my opinion be a mistake to appoint a native in that position, where discipline and careful supervision are so necessary. The Mysore State employed a number of European officers in all the departments and continues to

appoint a certain number to supply the necessary stiffening to the Administration."

With all these perplexing circumstances about him, His Highness was pushing on his work with a tact and judgment which would have done credit to administrators of a more mature age. The most vital question before His Highness was the restoration to the State of the powers and prestige lost in the course of the past fifty years. When the question was being considered, attempts were made to induce the Bombay Government to cancel the provision of the Treaty of 1862 whereby confirmation by Government was rendered necessary for all death sentences passed by the courts of His Highness. The Diwan was so sanguine about this request being granted that he expected an announcement on this point in the Installation speech of Lord Harris. In regard to the Residuary jurisdiction over the feudatories, which till then vested in the Government, attempts were being made to obtain their restoration to the State, but the Diwan was not sure of immediate success and thought that they would have to wait for a time. It was however found that no step forward was taken by the Government at the time of the accession. Before the year of accession was out (on 14th November 1894), His Highness began to move in the matter and put forward his case before the Governor. He said :—"It is now more than six months that I have been going on with my administration work. I have gained considerable insight into it, and have begun to feel much interest in it. Your Excellency is shortly to meet H. E. the Viceroy. May I, therefore, write to you on the following points that you might speak personally about them to him. Under Article 7 of the revised Agreement of 1862 between the British Government and the Kolhapur State, sentences of death are to be reported to the authority of Government for confirmation. Those were troublous times and since then there has been much change and, therefore, I hope Your Excellency will

not think it unreasonable if I request you to consider and recommend to H. E. the Viceroy to restore to my State its former powers in this matter. I believe Your Excellency knows that many States that are of much less importance as regards their salute, area, population and revenue have the powers of life and death.

"I think some change is also necessary in Article 8 of the same Agreement in respect of the Residuary Criminal Jurisdiction of certain higher Jahagirdars under me and the general supervision over them. Since 1862, education has advanced, the system of administering justice has improved and peace has been restored. You will, therefore, agree with me, if I say that the Kolhapur Darbar may be safely allowed to resume its jurisdiction over them."

The immediate result of this letter was that, about the middle of February following, Lord Harris assured His Highness that full powers of capital punishment would be restored to him and this was shortly followed by an official communication.

From the very start His Highness devoted himself heart and soul to the administrative work in the State. Within two months of his accession he says :—"I am glad to say that I am going on well with my office work. There are many cases of the Council's time waiting for final disposal, say about 600, of which 250 are special appeals. I dispose of about 6 every day in addition to the current work, and at this rate I think I shall clear up all arrears in a few months."

It was the particular wish of His Highness to learn things at first hand and rely as little as possible upon information reaching him through the official channels. He knew how the masses at large were steeped in ignorance and how the piles of papers that were manufactured by the various departments of the State were coloured with the prejudices and dodges of the more intelligent section of the people and by the interest which the subordinates were made to take in one side or the

other. While in his own capital or on tour, therefore, he made it a point to be easily accessible to the poor people. He also tried to spend as much of his time as possible in villages and jungles—the latter giving him shikar as well as touch with the poorer people. The first of these tours was in the Shirol Taluka. His experience there is thus referred to :—"I have just returned from a tour in the District. I take great pleasure in seeing things personally and speaking to the ryots about their wants. In my tour I saw Narsoba Wadi, a sacred place to which pilgrims flock from all sides. There are many charitable institutions for feeding beggars and it is also popularly believed that lepers get cured there. We have, therefore, a very large numbers of these unfortunate men and I am at a loss to know how to segregate them."

This question of segregating the lepers was solved a little later by the starting of the Victoria Leper Asylum in Kolhapur which was afterwards removed to Anuskura, a secluded place in the Ghat portion of the State. The next tour in March and April of 1895, is thus described : "His Highness inspected the different Petas and visited some of the principal villages in each. The tour commenced with the inspection of the Gadhinglaj Peta wherein are situated some of the places notorious for the depredations and other atrocities of the Berad gang. His Highness talked, as is his wont, to the prisoners under trial who were confined in the Peta Kacheri cells. Most of them of course pleaded innocence. One of them, however, complained that he had been under trial for months and only wished for speedy justice. His Highness took note of it and after due inquiry was made into the matter, a circular was issued calling upon all Magistrates to furnish monthly returns of prisoners, remaining under trial for more than a month, with a statement of reasons for the same. The beneficial effects of the circular are already visible and, under the watchful supervision His Highness insists upon, the returns will, it is hoped, ere long have to be

sent blank. From Gadhinglaj to Gargoti is about a few hours' ride. At Gargoti the people seemed anxious to have a girls' school and His Highness gave immediate order for one being opened. The want of a good supply of drinking water was also brought to His Highness' notice by the Ryots and the question of conveying water to the place from a spring, a couple of miles off, is still under His Highness' consideration. At Shengaon, a village a few miles off from Gargoti, there is a small factory for the manufacture of catechu which His Highness took the opportunity of visiting. A trial is being made here for the manufacture of this article and if it proves a success, His Highness has a mind to open a few more factories of the description in villages near jungles. Catechu being purely a forest produce, its preparation, though it may not add appreciably to the forest revenue, may serve to give useful employment to at least a few of the villagers. His Highness then returned to Kolhapur and, after a couple of days' stay there, resumed his tour. He now took the Sahyadri ridge beginning in the South and after visiting villages about the Parpoli and Waki Jungles, went up North as far as Dajipur. Here he saw for himself the place which has long been the subject of dispute between the Kolhapur State and one of its Feudatories and the personal visit will, it is hoped, go a great way towards an easy solution of the question. His Highness had to return to Kolhapur on the 6th of April for the disposal of some urgent office work. But on the morning of that day, the Shikari men brought news that a big tiger had on the previous night killed two bullocks. The temptation was too great to withstand for a keen sportsman like His Highness who at once made up his mind to go after the brute. Luckily he fell to His Highness' shot. It was a fine specimen of the Sahyadri tiger, almost fully developed and measuring 8′-9″ in length. After this shikar, though 40 miles away from Kolhapur, His Highness drove post-haste to his Capital and came in time to dispose of the urgent office

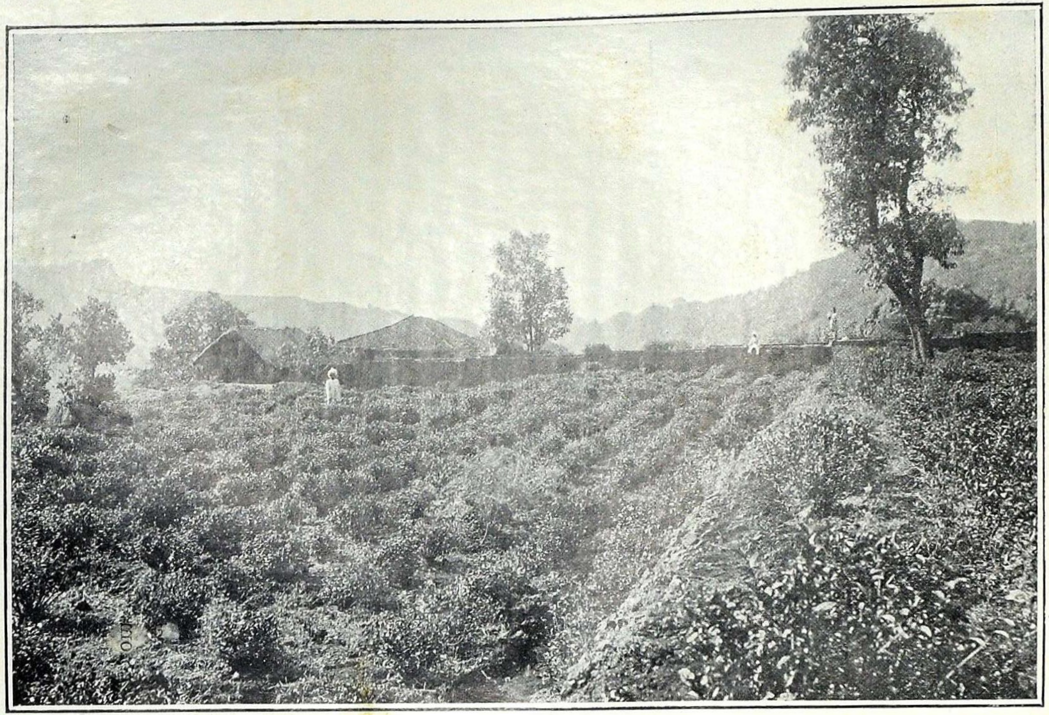
work. From the 7th to 20th, he stayed at Panhala, now and then visiting villages in the Peta.

"On the 20th April, His Highness left for Mahableshwar and stayed there till the 30th May. He went for a few days (29th to 4th May) to Mudhol to attend the wedding of the eldest son of the Chief. His Highness took the Huzur Office to Mahableshwar and was able to dispose of a good deal of work there. On the 29th, His Highness gave a garden party to the elite of the place. Both Europeans and Natives had been invited."

A few details about the tour of His Highness in the next year also may interest the reader :—"His Highness' tour in the district began with his visit to Gadhinglaj on 20th November 1896, and passing through Raibag and Katkol, the most detached portions of the territory as also the most severely suffering from the failure of the later rains terminated on the 30th idem. On account of the scarcity prevailing at the time, His Highness made long marches and short stays and travelled with the smallest possible retinue, riding camels and horses the whole way in order to be able to see the state of the crops beyond the road side.

"His Highness' other tours were in the Bhudargad and Panhala Petas, which next to Katkol suffered the most severe distress on account of their hilly nature and poor soil. The first of the tours in the Bhudargad Peta lasted from 27th January to 11th February 1897, and the second from 22nd February to 31st March. The reassuring effect of His Highness' presence among the half starved population of the district was well marked when, on the eve of His Highness' departure from Dajipur in the Bhudargad Peta, the people of the surrounding villages offered vows to their tutelary gods for a prolongation of His Highness' stay!

"The distress in the Panhala Peta received His Highness' personal attention from 7th April to the end of May except for a week which His Highness spent at Mahableshwar.



Tea Gardens, Panhala.

His Highness was accompanied in these tours by the district and forest officer and the Executive Engineer and visited all the relief works in progress and the poor houses and also considered projects of relief work on the spot"

His Highness refers to this tour in one of his letters to a friend in these words :—"I have been visiting some of the remote parts of the Sahyadri ranges and Wakee is one of them. People living in the jungles have a number of complaints and are not yet reconciled to the Forest Laws. I am trying to find out for myself if they have anything reasonable to argue and to see what can be done for them. It seems personal visits to their houses in the heart of the jungles will go a great way towards lessening the friction between them and the officers. Another thing that strikes me is the extreme indebtedness of the Rayats. All their lands are in the hands of the Sawakars and I am considering what should be done to help them." And again :—

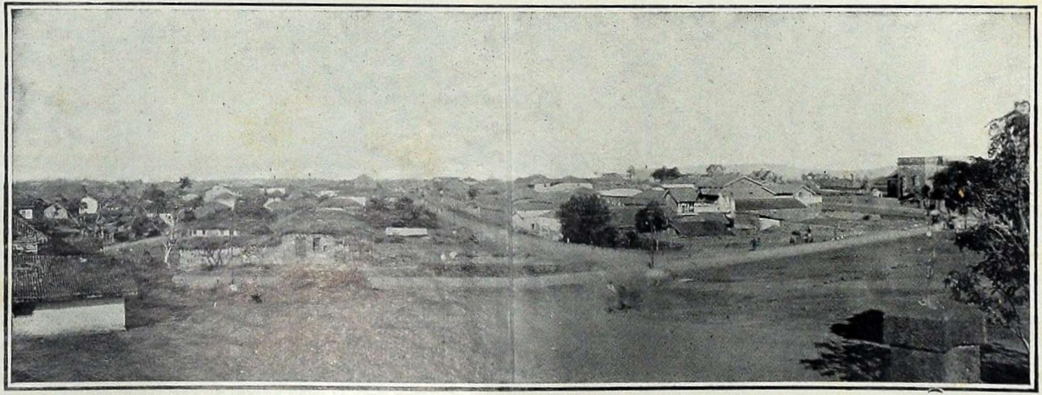
" In my last tour in the districts, I visited the Gadhingalaj and Bhudargad Pethas. The people in the former are fairly off, but not in the latter which being situated near the Sahyadri range is not very fertile. People have, therefore, their forest grievances and the Rayats are deep in debt. I have been thinking how to remedy these evils. The least concession to the Forest Tribes makes them bold and they recklessly cut down the jungles for Kumri. So one has to be very cautious even in giving them a helping hand. The poor condition of the Rayats is also a knotty question. I should very much like to see the actual cultivators hold lands in their name, but they are fast sinking to the level of mere hired labourers. I thought there was a want specially in the Districts near the Sahyadri ; so a Girls' School and a school for Mahomedans have been ordered to be opened. For a very long time, the question of the lepers in the Narsoba Wadi has been before me. It is a place for pilgrimage and men from distant parts always visit it. I wish to segregate the lepers

but it is a very difficult question and I should like to talk personally to Your Excellency in the matter. My views about the subject are that a pharmacy be established for them and the sexes should be separated. At first I intend admitting genuine Kolhapur subjects and asking the feudatories to pay for the maintenance of lepers from their districts."

The celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of Her late Majesty Queen Victoria in 1897 gave His Highness an opportunity to solve the leper question. The foundation of this Asylum was laid on June 22nd, 1897, by His Highness himself.

His Highness was from the beginning fond of encouraging and, if need be, of starting industries in his own State. Tea and Coffee plantations were among his first enterprises in this direction. After a personal observation of the physical and climatic conditions obtaining in the coffee districts of Southern India and after consultation with several European and Indian planters of experience, the conclusion arrived at by the Forest expert was that the conditions in the Kolhapur Ghat Districts generally were not quite as favourable for coffee planting as they were in Southern India. The chief essential condition wanting in these parts was the regular and even distribution of the annual rainfall throughout the year. As, however, owing to better prices of the article, and the depreciated value of the rupee, the coffee industry had for some time past become a very profitable concern in Southern India, an experiment in Kolhapur deserved to be made. For even if it were attended with partial success, it would not only make the barren soil of the Ghat Districts, where no crop whatever could be raised without leaving it fallow for a series of years, yield some return, but also find employment for the hill population.

Accordingly under orders of H. H. the Chhatrapati Maharaja an experiment of a coffee plantation without artificial irrigation was undertaken by the Forest Department on a small scale during the first year of his rule; and Pendakhle in



Birds' Eye View of Shahupuri.

Panhala Peta, a hill slope with a northern aspect which is comparatively cool, in a perfectly sheltered ravine and at a moderate distance from the Ghats with a deep virgin forest soil and at the same time with an ample scope for extension was selected for this purpose. About 2,000 seedlings brought from Panhala covering an area of about 1½ acres were planted with the first monsoon showers in accordance with methods pursued in Mysore and a nursery also was formed for raising seedlings for the next year's planting.

The progress made in this venture is thus reported in the next year: "Coffee was planted at Panhala and Bhudargad during the year under report in about 15 acres of land and the produce obtained therefrom was 276 lbs. and the income Rs. 287-8-0. Last year the area occupied by the coffee plantation was about 14 acres; during the year under report one acre and 10 gunthas of land at Turukwadi was taken by order of the Huzur for coffee plantation and the plants are reported to be thriving. The planting of the Indian aloe, which besides being valuable fibre-plant, serves the purpose of a good fence and is useful for making the line of Forest boundaries was further carried on on a large scale. The year's aloe-planting together with that done in previous years makes up a total length of 37 miles."

Among the numerous administrative measures which His Highness adopted during these years ending with 1898, some deserve a special mention in this place. The system of forced supplies was stopped in the early months of 1894. Attempts, continued throughout, to relieve indebted Inamdars and landholders by issuing easy-terms loans to them, were launched about the same time. Rules facilitating the grazing of cattle in protected forests were promulgated. With a view to remove congestion in the city of Kolhapur and to encourage trade, the Shahupuri extension project was undertaken in 1895 and by the close of the career of His Highness, the project became an accomplished fact. Shahupuri is now a thriving

centre of commerce and industry as well as the fashionable quarter of the higher classes in Kolhapur. It will be one of the finest memorials of the Maharaja whose honoured name it bears. Another industrial concern in which the Maharaja interested himself was the cotton and silk Mill at Poona. Encouraged by this support to one of the Poona industries, the late Mr. Namjoshi—the well known lieutenant of the late Mr. Tilak—approached His Highness with a request for help to his metal manufacturing company. In September 1894 His Highness had been prevailed upon to open the wire-drawing departments of the Metal Factory started by Mr. Namjoshi and his friends. The same concern now wanted a loan but more interesting than the request was the way it was prefaced by Mr. Namjoshi. He said:—"You are perhaps aware of the circumstances under which I feel justified in soliciting the Maharaja's help towards an undertaking in which I am so very largely interested and Rao Bahadur Joshi might, if asked by His Highness, explain the circumstances under which I came to be an object of the late lamented Abasaheb's sympathies which I very naturally expect the Maharaja would continue to show towards me and my public undertakings. The company of which I am the secretary is the sequel of my humble share of work in the organization of the Deccan Education Society and of the starting and continuation of the *Kesari* and *Maratha* newspapers. Relying upon the goodness and generosity of my previous patrons, I started upon my manufacturing and industrial line of life and I am grateful to recollect that the Maharaja was pleased to give me an assurance of his practical sympathies in consenting to perform the interesting ceremony of opening the wire department of my factory."

The September visit of His Highness to Poona in 1894 was of peculiar importance and deserves a detailed reference here. Being an official visit, His Highness (accompanied as he was by Her Highness the Ranisaheb) was accorded all the

honours of a formal reception at the station. The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, the premier political institution of the Deccan in those days, gave His Highness an evening party at the Hirabag. Most of the prominent citizens of Poona including the aristocracy of the Peshwa times then staying in that city attended the function. The Maharaja, accompanied by his brother Bapusaheb and others, was given a hearty welcome by the *elite* of Poona. After the presentation of the leading sirdars and citizens to His Highness, Mr. G. K. Gokhale, then only a rising young politician but specially interested in the guest of the evening to whose State by birth he belonged, read an address of welcome in the course of which the enthusiasm aroused in the public mind by the presence of His Highness in the old capital of the theocracy of the Peshwas was thus expressed :—"The distinguished part which at one time it pleased Providence to assign to Poona in strengthening those foundations of the national life of the Marathas which were laid by your illustrious ancestor is now a matter of history. But the Kolhapur Gadi still continues to stand as a visible emblem of the great work which the Marathas were able to achieve and its occupants will always be regarded by the people of the whole Maharashtra, even by those who are not directly subject to their rule, with feelings of veneration and affection. In welcoming Your Highness, therefore the people of Poona welcome one to whom they are bound by strong ties of the past, and who recalls traditions the memory of which lapse of time can never obliterate."

Continuing, the address laid stress upon a point which had a particular bearing on the future life of the Maharaja :—"Your Highness' first and foremost duty is necessarily and beyond all doubt to secure the progress and happiness of your own subjects. But the promotion of the welfare of our common country in general and of the Maharashtra in particular, is also a duty devolving upon Your Highness and in import-

ance it is second only to the duty which Your Highness owes to the people of your own State."

In the course of the reply, the Maharaja took care to express his own views on the last point touched on by the address :—" It was hardly necessary for you to say that I should have at heart the welfare not only of my subjects but that of the whole Maharashtra. Under the benign influence of the British rule, the different parts of the Empire have been so welded together that progress of one part is hardly possible without an onward motion of all. Besides, the common ties which have so long bound together the people of Maharashtra are a sufficient guarantee of their mutual sympathies hereafter and for ever."

Had his later critics cared to remember the suggestion made by the Sabha and the reply given to it by the Maharaja, much of the point in their attacks would have been lost by itself. Among the other public functions at Poona on this occasion were an entertainment given by Shri Baba Maharaj and a visit to the Poona Native Institution. At the end of the stay in Poona, His Highness entertained the public of Poona at an " At Home" in the Council Hall. The guests included the Governors of Bombay and Madras and the arrangements were fully equal to the great occasion and fittingly closed the first season of His Highness in the capital of the Deccan.

His Highness' next noticeable visit to Poona was in March 1895 on the occasion of the opening of the new house of the Fergusson College on the Chatuhshringi Maidan. Being the President of the Deccan Education Society it was His Highness' privilege to invite the new Governor, Lord Sandhurst, to open the new buildings and he did so in a felicitous speech in the course of which he praised the work of the society in making education accessible to all classes of people. " But this is not in my opinion a true measure of the real worth and merits of the society. What I admire most is the noble example of self-sacrifice and zeal in a right cause, which the originators

have set to the rising generations." In all these dealings with public movements in and out of Kolhapur, he applied this very test to judge what each one of them deserved at his hands. He was the most bounteous in cases where the promoters of the movement evinced this spirit of self-sacrifice.

Her Majesty the Queen Empress marked her appreciation of His Highness' high position and good work by conferring upon him the G.C.S.I. on January 1st, 1895, and the ceremony of investing His Highness with the Insignia of his Order took place on 18th September of that year. In investing the Maharaja, His Excellency Lord Sandhurst thus referred to the high esteem in which Government held him :—

" In the person of His Highness, we see one of the great remaining representatives of the Mahratta power. His ancestors include the founder of the Mahratta Empire. While the history of the Mahrattas in the time of his ancestors abounds with dazzling deeds of arms, I trust the annals of his time will be no less illustrious but for different reasons—for reasons that his rule will be marked by sympathy, justice, firmness and general development, as His Highness governs his State during the days of peace. It was but lately my pleasing duty to announce to His Highness that the Viceroy in Council had consented to accede to His Highness his great desire. The grant of these powers implies, indeed, no little compliment; they are pregnant with good or evil according as they may be used; for justice and impartiality in the administration of the State are inseparable from them, the highest and most responsible duty being, mainly, to rule wisely and well."

For many years under the minority, the Chinchali Fair in honour of the Goddess Mayakka, where people from the State and the neighbouring districts flocked each year in their thousands, was utilised for the purpose of a cattle-show and exhibition of agricultural implements and products. The show was held mainly under the patronage of the Darbar,

but assistance was also obtained from the Local Boards of some of the British Districts and the Chiefs of the Southern Mahratta States. Shortly after the accession of His Highness, however, it was found that some of the Chiefs of the Patwardhan States declined to continue their contributions. This fact, coupled with the fact that the expenditure involved in the reception of guests which had become customary was utterly wasteful, led to the discontinuance of the Exhibition, which had been a coveted fixture of each year for many a guest who had had the honour of an invitation from the Darbar. His Highness disliked the pomp and glory of the show which was quite out of proportion to its utility, and he preferred to encourage agriculture and cattle-feeding in a less pompous, though more useful, style. In the first week of February 1895, however, His Highness held the show at Chinchali. The most prominent part of the festivities—and the show was little else—was the display of horsemanship by the various guests that had assembled at Chinchali. The skill of His Highness as a true Maratha horseman was referred to by His Excellency Lord Sandhurst, the Governor, in these terms :—

"But above and beyond this we were treated to a display of horsemanship in which His Highness the Raja took a place of honour. (Applause.) That was certainly not more than we expected, knowing His Highness as we do, but still it was very gratifying for us to see the chief of the Marathas taking his place and holding his own in deeds of noble horsemanship (Applause). I watched with great interest and pleasure His Highness take his 'Pegs', if that is the proper term. But whatever the right term may be, the result showed that there must have been considerable energy and determination exercised to have arrived at the standard of excellence and proficiency which His Highness has reached. Now, Your Highness, I will merely say that in the minds of all assembled here, and in the minds of those who have been in this locality, there is dear to them the memory of one who is

Her Highness The Maharani Ahalyabai Saheb.

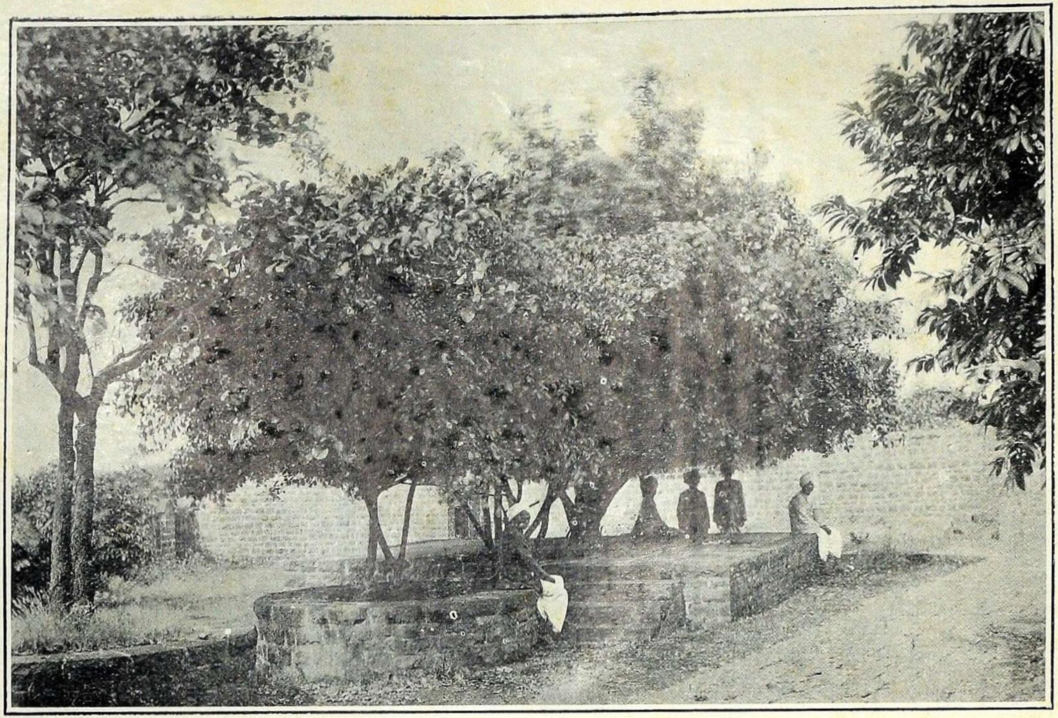
no longer with us—I mean your father. (Applause.) And all those who remember the great qualifications of that gentleman are glad to see that in his son there is everything to show that you will follow in the footsteps of so worthy a predecessor."

Her Highness Ahalyabai Ranisaheb, the great-grandmother of the Maharaja, who first cemented by marriage the two great Maratha Houses of Baroda and Kolhapur, breathed her last on 14th December 1895. His Highness had great respect for this lady and therefore decided to perpetuate her memory, already connected with the principal Girls' School at Kolhapur, by starting a Dispensary of Indian medicine. This institution was intended to keep up the traditions of Indian medicine which had in the past attained high excellence in certain fields. It was opened on 15th October 1896 and was placed in charge of an experienced Vaidya or physician. Another institution started in the year 1896-97 which was a cheap boarding house for students conducted was under the management of a committee presided over by a principal Brahman officer of the State. We shall revert to this subject in another chapter.

This closes a brief review of the principal events of the first five years of the Maharaja's rule. In the almost unanimous opinion of the people of Kolhapur, the Maharaja had played his part with great success on all sides. Wherever he went, he produced a very favourable impression by his personal accomplishments and by the primitive simplicity of his private life. "A tall, robust looking, young man," said one of the newspaper chroniclers, "Shahu Chhatrapati seems to be endowed with a very fine physique. A certain amount of shyness which he can never completely shake off in the presence of strangers, perhaps stands in the way of a correct estimate of his qualities at first sight. But His Highness rapidly improves on acquaintance and a little intimacy suffices to show how simple, high-minded, warm-hearted he is."

"In private life," continues the same writer, "His Highness's simplicity, his unostentatious ways and his extreme tenderness and regard for the feelings of others win for him the respect of all who come into contact with him. But perhaps the most remarkable feature of his domestic life is the affection which exists between him and his younger brother, the Chief of Kagal. It is a pleasure, nay, a privilege to see these young men together, to see how devoted they are to each other and how unconsciously solicitous each is to see the other pleased and happy. A liberal master may always count upon servants who are attached to him; but in the case of Shahu Chhatrapati, it is not merely his liberality, it is the personal interest which he takes in the concerns of those who are around him which explains the great warmth of affection with which the Maharaja of Kolhapur is regarded by his servants."

This is in every way a correct description of public feelings regarding the new Chhatrapati entertained almost universally throughout Maharashtra. Despite some criticisms here and there against some stray acts of the Maharaja and more particularly against the formation of the new ministry in Kolhapur, public sympathies were entirely on one side, the side of the Maharaja. The Poona Press had begun indulging in recriminations but the attitude of even the Brahmins in general was correctly expressed by the *Samarth* which publicly advised the critics to desist from attacking the Darbar for what were after all small matters. On the other hand, by various acts, small and great, the Maharaja had endeared himself even to his future opponents. To-day by awarding a small annuity to the old widow of an old Brahman clerk, to-morrow by sanctioning a scholarship to a Brahman orphan, he touched the chords of sympathy in the hearts of his people, and won them. The secret of his popularity was that he enlivened the dreary routine of official life by these human touches which distinguish personal rule and are lacking in the rule of a machine



Rural Seat of His Highness, Rajputwadi.

like system. Early in 1895 while encamped at Shirol, he writes thus to his Guru, Mr. Fraser:—"Since my installation, I have made it a rule to see all that wish to wait upon me by appointment between 11 and 12 on all office days. But when men come without appointment, I do not give them access. They say this is European fashion and I do not like it. After 4-30 p.m. I see the Rayats when I go to the stables and they get an opportunity of talking freely with me."

Soon, however, he gave up the practice of making appointments with his people and took to the oriental fashion of seeing people when it pleased them to go and it pleased him to receive them. This practice had obvious disadvantages, but it made him undoubtedly more accessible to that class of people who would otherwise have been compelled to look upon the distant Maharaja with mere awe and respect. Comparing the Maharaja with any other member of his order, he saw at least fifty times more ordinary men than any of them and discussed all sorts of subjects with them. Comparing him, again, with the Governor of a Province whose position in many respects resembles that of an Indian ruler, the difference would be infinitely greater. The British Proconsul of Bombay is often a more hard working man than most of our Princes. But he comes into far less contact with the people over whose destinies he presides than does a person like the Maharaja. With all his faults, a simple, more accessible Prince like His Highness wins more affection from his people than the official who kills himself with work for the district in his charge. The Maharaja, by nature and training a thoroughly oriental ruler, soon returned to ways of life which were more congenial to himself and his people. He lived and moved among the people. Even when he drove through the town, his carriage would be full with all sorts of men. A friend once asked him what good he derived from the company of such men. He made no immediate reply but in the course of his conversation he asked that friend how the new

Vedic School in the Palace was going on. The friend—let us call him K—replied that the progress was good and the authority in charge discharged his duties well. A little later, the Maharaja called one of his low class associates and asked him how the same school was going on. Up rose that man and sprang upon the Maharaja and K a number of the vagaries of the person concerned. Turning at once to K, the Maharaja said: "Do you see the use of having these men by my side? From a good man like you, I expect to hear the good side of everything. But to ascertain the dark side of the picture, I must have other sources of information and it is men of this class." The advantages of this course have their limits. But it is unquestionably true that it made the Maharaja a very popular figure which many conscientious rulers in British India have never been able to become.

CHAPTER VII.

The Trials of 1899.

The new Ministry—In touch with the villagers—The anonymous letter—Immediate Enquiry avoided—The proposed arrests and deportation—Mr. Brewin in Kolhapur—The End of the Case—The Famine.

EXCEPT the incident connected with Mr. C., which was still looming large on the horizon, the sky was bright and clear for the Kolhapur Darbar on the New Year's day of 1899. The Maharaja had now under him a ministry of his own making, a machinery which he could handle as he liked. The people who did not know the ins and outs of the situation still suspected that in making all these appointments, His Highness, "a youth of about hardly twenty-four summers," as a critic said, "must have been following the impulses of the Political Agent," and they feared that these changes had deprived His Highness of able and experienced advisers like the ex-Diwan Mr. Taraporwalla. 'The public is rightly alarmed,' said one critic, 'to see that the Maharaja's right and left hands are cut off in the removal of the former Diwan and Mr. Kirtikar from their respective offices—the latter being known to have been a steadfast friend of the Maharaja's father and one of the most straightforward servants of His Highness himself, to whose chitnisship he had succeeded on the promotion of Mr. Sabnis to the Sarsubhaship and who was soon made to give place to Mr. Marathe on the alleged ground that he was a member of the ex-Diwan's party. It was also alleged in disparagement of the new ministers that they were of cheap and raw material, incapable of rising to the occasion as it might arise. Whatever the merits of the ex-officers may have been, there is little doubt that their successors were all men of the Maharaja's own choice. They were admittedly men of University education.

Though new to office in the Kolhapur State, they were also men of many summers endowed with experience which would be expected to stand them in good stead in any emergency. The wisdom of the choice His Highness had made did not, however, remain problematical for a long time. Before the year was out, the new officers of the Maharaja, and above all of them, the Maharaja himself, were put to a severe test and the wisdom of the choice was more than amply justified.

In the meanwhile, the Maharaja was proceeding with his usual administrative work mixed up with shikar trips which in their turn were utilised for obtaining direct touch with the poor ryots of the State. About the middle of January, he went to the Ramling Hills near Alte for a Shikar which was typical of the many shikar trips of the Maharaja. Referring to the work which he did in this trip, the leading organ of educated Kolhapur, whose later attitude towards the Maharaja makes any charge of favourable bias impossible, said that "the Maharaja is not merely absorbed in shikar in this trip but he is observing and enquiring very minutely into the conditions of the ryot, the wants of the villagers and the way charities in the villages are being managed. When anything worth notice is found, he passes immediate necessary orders." When passing through Alte on his way to Ramling, he received a simple but enthusiastic reception from the people of the village in right royal fashion, royal in the true oriental sense of the word. The annual Sankrant fell on one of the days that he spent in the Hills. Crowds of villagers streamed towards the jungle camp in the Ramling valley and presented their sugar-coated Teels to the Huzur sitting in full Darbar in the tents. The villagers, says the same writer, were glad that their Maharaja held his Festive Court in the Hills and did not go to his capital for that occasion.

In February, the Maharaja went to Kagal accompanied by his Yuvaraj and received the usual ovations from his

Rao Bahadur R. V. Sabnis, C.I.E., The Diwan.

relatives and people ; but this was not the only part of the trip. The merchants of Nipani were invited to an interview with the Maharaja and the discussion turned upon converting Kolhapur into a centre of commerce, for which His Highness promised various concessions to traders who would settle at the Shahupuri. As one reads of this Maharaja's movements from place to place in these days, one is surprised to find how active, how almost restless he was. Writing in December 1899, he says : "In fact I only sleep at Panhala and spend the whole day in doing my office work as the office is here. The mornings I spend in supervising the plague work in the city. A few days ago, I rode about 40 miles across country to see the state of crops myself. It used only one horse and went at the rate of nearly 3 miles an hour, as I had to make enquiries as I went along. I was very tiresome. I may say more than my Mahableshwar trip on horse-back. I am just leaving for Panhala after two days here."

This is typical of what the Maharaja had to do almost the whole of his life. But he had special reasons for being so restless in those days. He was in fact surrounded on all sides by grave dangers which, were it not for the foresight and wisdom which he so abundantly possessed, would have engulfed him for good.

Col. W. joined Kolhapur as its Political Agent about the end of 1896. Coming as he did as a friend of the Maharaja's late father, the relations between the two were of the most excellent kind to start with. But it was soon found that no one with a will of his own could pull on long with him without a breach of harmony with him.*

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*In this Chapter, the whole history of the incidents concerned cannot be related at the present stage and hence I have omitted many portions of it, although the whole history was written out by me in the usual course. The omitted portions are indicated by asterisks and may have to await publication for some years to come.

In November 1897, the strained relations between the Colonel and the Darbar had become known to many friends one of whom Mr. E., tried to harmonise matters by telling the Maharaja :—" I trust you will be able to keep it (plague) at arm's length. I fancy that for actual work of that sort, Col. Wray is as good an adviser as you could have ; and I hope relations are not too strained to allow of your making full use of his assistance. We have an old proverb: 'It is ill swapping horses when crossing a ford' and this plague business is a ford where the water is rather deep and strong."

It was not, however, until Mr. N., a common friend of all sides concerned, had paid a visit to Kolhapur on a mission of reconciliation that matters were expected to assume a hopeful garb. The peace which resulted from the visit of N. was however of a temporary nature.

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Matters had reached this stage when on August 5, 1899, the Hon. Mr. James, a Member of Council, paid a visit to Kolhapur. The same night, a dinner was arranged in his honour and it was to take place in the Darbar Hall of the New Palace under the management of Col. and Mrs. W. In the afternoon, Col. W. received an anonymous letter warning him that a conspiracy had been made to poison him and that Mr. F. had bribed some men to get this done. His Highness immediately proposed that the dinner should be dropped from the programme or that the State Police should be asked to watch the arrangements in the dining hall. Col. W., however, rejected both the proposals and made every arrangement under his own supervision with the assistance of one Mr. Phillips, an ex-butler of the Colonel, raised to the post of a storekeeper in the P.W.D. of the State a few months previously. None in the Darbar knew what precautions the Colonel had taken ; but it was said that when the tables were ready to receive the guests, Col. W. had the rolls of bread already

served on the table removed and put in a basket which was kept in a room and new rolls were placed on the table. It is not necessary to give all the details. It is enough to know that the Chemical Analyser of Bombay reported about the end of the month that one of the rolls of bread contained a piece and some powder of glass. His Highness proposed the only course open to him, namely to start a thorough enquiry into the matter with a view to bring the offenders to book. But the Colonel proposed that the matter should be allowed to remain where it was on the ground that "if publicity were to be given to it, a great scandal would be created against the Darbar." His Highness was too shrewd to be led into such suicidal policy. "I thought that if I were to follow that course," he said, "the Darbar would lay itself open to all sorts of surmises and suspicions which would serve as a very useful and convenient instrument to its enemies for all future time to prick the Darbar with and to overawe it whenever they choose. I thought I would rather prefer the temporary scandal to the continuous torture." So on the day after the Report of the Chemical Analyser was received, His Highness wrote to the Colonel :—

"It is really very kind of you to think of the scandal it may create about the Darbar, as it was a Darbar dinner of which advantage was taken. But I personally think that it is better to risk such scandal than to let the culprits escape. It will only make them very bold to do such things again. If you approve, I shall ask the Police to move in the matter at once."

A day or two had, however, to be wasted as the Colonel thought nothing should be done until he had received a reply to his letter to official friends in Poona, giving him advice in the matter. On the 3rd, His Highness ordered Mr. Pendharkar, his own Chief Police, to make a searching inquiry. He also wrote to the Governor to place at his disposal the services of a competent detective officer to investigate the

offence and a Sessions Judge to try the case, if on investigation a case had to be sent up for trial. His Excellency offered the Darbar the services of Mr. Brewin, the best Police Officer under the Bombay Government, but the offer had to be temporarily rejected under the advice of the P. A.

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A telegram to that effect was dictated to His Highness and sent to the Government, with the result that Inspector Gannon of the Bombay Police was deputed to undertake the investigation and he took up the case in the second week of September. But the Colonel was not silent during the interval. Mr. Shirgaokar, the Chief Revenue Officer of the State, was trusted by the Col. to some extent and was therefore entrusted with the investigation pending the arrival of a British Officer.

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In order that the Colonel might not have any ground to complain about the way the investigation was carried on, the Darbar left its direction completely in his hands and gave orders to the Chief Revenue Officer whom His Highness had appointed to conduct the investigation with the Colonel's approval, to act under the orders of the P. A. When the Chief Revenue Officer was told before the arrival of the British Police to arrest Mr. F. he suggested that there were not sufficient reasons for the arrest yet, and that it would be better if they waited till the arrival of the British Police who would otherwise find fault with him for the untimely arrest. A watch was in the meantine kept over Mr. F. to see that he did not escape into foreign territory. The Colonel, however, thought that it would not be safe to let him remain free. He, therefore, wrote a letter to the Diwan asking for the arrest of Mr. F. on the ground of his being the writer of certain anonymous and threatening letters about the plague measures which were newly introduced into the controversy

at that time. The Diwan did not consider it prudent to take steps on it and so no arrest was made.

On the arrival of the British Police Officer Mr. Gannon, the Colonel again insisted upon the arrest of Mr. F. But he also declined to take that step on the ground that the evidence against him was not sufficient. The investigation was, however, carried on with great vigour and when after two days, no evidence could be obtained against Mr. F., the Colonel told the investigating officer that Mr. F. exercised great influence over the local police, the Darbar officials and others, and that unless he were put under lock and key and people saw that he was degraded and powerless no body would open his mouth and that no evidence could be obtained against him. On the investigating officers still declining to arrest Mr. F., the Colonel got very angry with the Darbar and said that they were not helping him, that they were trifling with him even when his life was threatened, that therefore he would write to Government and get them to appoint a commission like the one against Maharaja Malharrao of Baroda; for, he said, by declining to arrest Mr. F. they were laying themselves open to the suspicion of having a hand in the matter. He further argued that this was not an ordinary case where one should stick to technicalities of law, but was one of a political nature where one might safely stretch a point or two in favour of the high dignitary offended against.

When the investigating officers saw that their refusal to arrest Mr. F. had thus led to imputations being made against the Darbar itself, they thought it proper to give in and consented to the arrest of Mr. F. and did arrest him accordingly.

The investigation progressed and yet when it did not bring forward any new evidence the Colonel suspected that Mr. F. was merely a tool in the hands of the late Diwan Mr. Meherjibhai's party, consisting as he thought of some of the high officials of the State.

He, therefore, insisted upon all these officials being either dismissed, pensioned off or removed from office in some other ways. His Highness thought that mere suspicion was not enough to justify that course and that if there was any reliable evidence, he would not only dismiss them but would expel them from Kolhapur Territory. But if, on the other hand, the Darbar were to act on mere suspicion and to start a reign of terror, the Maharaja's administration would incur all the odium while the hands that moved the State to such action would remain protected behind the scenes. This did not satisfy the Colonel who continued to press for the dismissal of the officers and their expulsion from the limits of the State. His Highness at last claimed advice in writing to that effect and, on receiving it, Mr. Kirtikar was ordered to leave the State, ostensibly on six months' leave.

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The next day Mr. Kirtikar left for Sawantwadi. But his absence from Kolhapur Territory did not at all help the theory advocated by the P. A. On the contrary, one Kh. who was connected with the Butler in charge of the arrangements for the dinner went to Mr. Gannon on the 18th September and informed him and Mr. Shirgaokar that the suspected roll in which poison was detected afterwards was given to him by the ex-Butler of Col. W. When he was examined, the Colonel assumed an attitude which turned the tables and this Kh. afterwards stated that he was tutored to implicate Philips by one Ismail. In the meantime another anonymous letter implicating some trusted Maratha officers and Sirdars of the State including Shrimant B. in a new attempt on the precious life of the Colonel reached him.

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Sick of these never ending complaints of the P. A. and doubly anxious at the news of the new conspiracy which the Colonel imagined had been hatched by the principal Maratha Jahagirdars and servants of the State, His Highness repeated

his request to the Government for Mr. Brewin and a British Judge to hold the trial if the accused were committed to the Sessions. Both of these requests were opposed by the other side, who wished to leave matters at the stage they had reached. The Maharaja did not consider it prudent to stop investigation until the whole truth was found out. He, therefore, persisted in asking for the services of a man like Mr. Brewin. As for the loan of a Judge, His Highness wrote to Mr. E.: "I have consulted Col. W. in this matter but he does not agree with me. He says it might bespeak want of confidence on my part in my own judicial officers. Perhaps some may take that view, but I think it is better to incur this risk than to leave room for people to say that the Judge may have been influenced by the Darbar or some influential party at the Darbar owing to pressure brought to bear on the Darbar by the Political Agent. This is the point of view from which I look at the matter and, considering the important issues at stake, I feel constrained to place before Government my earnest desire to have an experienced Judge from the British district to decide this case."

If the case were to be finally decided by a Judge of the State, he would be blamed whether he acquitted the accused or convicted him. In the former case, the Colonel would say that the Darbar got an acquittal as it was itself involved in the offence and in the latter case the public would ascribe the conviction to the pressure from the P. A. The course proposed by His Highness was, therefore, the wisest course under the circumstances.

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Mr. Brewin's arrival was about this time anxiously awaited. But unwilling as he was to get the case investigated by a first class detective like Mr. Brewin, the Colonel was trying to bring the case to a decision before Mr. Brewin's arrival. The Darbar had instructed the Public Prosecutor

to apply for further remand pending the arrival of Mr. Brewin. Col. W. wished otherwise.

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Mr. Brewin took up the investigation on the 6th October.

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In the meantime, the case was fixed for hearing on the day Mr. Brewin arrived and naturally a ten days' adjournment was asked for and granted to enable Mr. Brewin to proceed with the case. A further adjournment carried the case to October 30th on which date Mr. Brewin instructed the Public Prosecutor to withdraw the case. The full report of Mr. Brewin took some more time. Though the case was now legally at an end, the accused being discharged, the final disposal of the matter by the Bombay Government took some time more ; and that time was made full use of to increase the difficulties of the Maharaja.

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Mr. Brewin's report on the poison case showed for one thing that there was really no *bona fide* plot to murder or injure Colonel W. but that the whole affair was a conspiracy to ruin Mr. F. and to secure his removal from Kolhapur. . . . . This report was apparently dissented from by the P. A. who submitted his own version to the Government. While the two sides were thus before the Government, His Highness was seeking to interview Lord Sandhurst but for months to no purpose. At last the end came and the Maharaja had the long desired discussion with the Governor. The whole visit is thus described by His Highness himself:—"I left here for Bombay on the 7th instant and, as arranged, the official visit to His Excellency and his return visit took place on the 10th and 11th instant respectively. On the 12th, the long-looked for private interview came off and I am happy to be able to say that H. E. gave me a quiet and

patient hearing. I was not surprised that I had to correct many misunderstandings and throw quite a different light on several matters regarding my administration. It seems H. E. was satisfied with the explanation given by me on the various points touched. I had to correct the wrong impression H. E. had about Dr. Sinclair and Mr. Shirgaokar by acquainting him with their antecedents, their qualifications and the good work they have done and have been doing. Then came the more difficult and deli-cate task of speaking about the P. A. I said (to him) all that I had to say very freely, but I am not sure what impression it made on H. E. So far as I could gather, the idea at head-quarters seems to be that Col. W. is now failing in health and his actions do not deserve severe criticism. But I had to say plainly that that was no reason why the Darbar should suffer the consequences of his ill-health and allow very serious charges to hang over the heads of some of its high officers and be worried in endless other ways. I was promised that Col. W. shall be going on long leave on the 9th March next and would not return. His Excellency asked me also to see him again in the next month so that he would personally introduce me to the new Governor. I should very much like to see H. E. But trips to Bombay are rather costly and there is no knowing what form famine may assume by that time."

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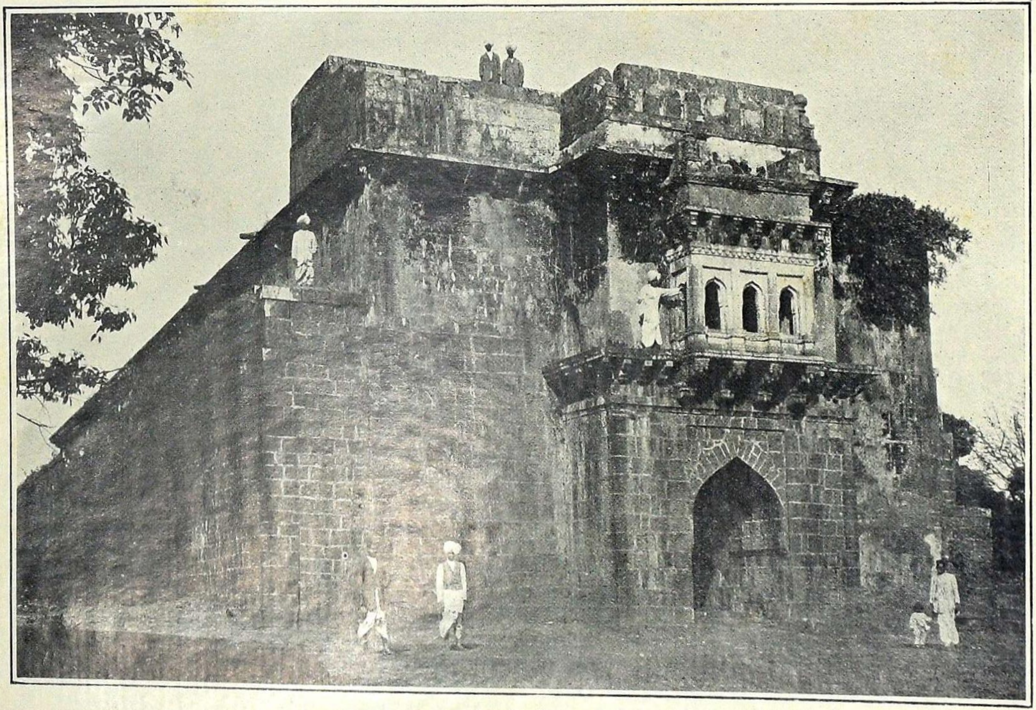
The end of the poison case was not, however, the end of all the troubles. Nature seemed to have been then in league with man in harassing the State and it gave an epidemic of plague for the first time to the City of Kolhapur which again facilitated an outburst of seditious activities in the City and also the gamble in rain for the year resulted in a famine in many parts of the State. The following letter, dated 25th November 1899, at Panahala addressed to Colonel Wray by His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur throws some light

on the Maharaja's work :—"I find the crops in some villages in this and Bhudargad Petas have suffered. I am glad on account of my stay here people from the different villages can come direct to me and tell me what they have to say. Kolhapur being infected, they do not like to go there nor do I wish it, as they might only catch and spread the infection by going there. My stay is also convenient to the district officers moving in the adjoining parts of scarcity. The telephone which has been put up at your kind suggestion has been quite a boon and I can now talk to my officers in Kolhapur as if they were here and it is such a saving not only of horses and sowars, but of time that is of great importance in these days of plague. I am only sorry that I cannot see the plague hospital and camp at Koti Teerth every day, as I used to do when I was there. I, however, go to Kolhapur every now and then and move about in the City and personally inspect the arrangements and give instructions where necessary. It is a pity both the old and new Palaces are infected, dead rats having been seen there. They are being disinfected and I hope they will soon be habitable. I am going in a few days to parts where there is scarcity. For the present people in these parts are still gathering their crops and labour for argricultural purposes is still in demand."

Apropos of the stay in Panhala, His Highness describes his own experiences, which will be readily corroborated by those who have ever been at such a place, in the following letter :—"I have not been able to write to you since my return from Bombay. This is a very nice quiet place and I am always able to do heaps of work here. I have been able to clear off all arrears and I am now able to do the work of supervision more to my satisfaction. This fort is a good shelter against plague also. All infection has been kept out, though plague has been raging in Kolhapur for the last four months."



The "Teen Darwaja" at Panhala.

Another extract will also be useful here :—" The plague at Kolhapur is also under control, the daily average being about half a dozen cases only. The pinch of famine is not yet felt here, people are not flocking to the test works that have been already opened at Shirol, Raibag and on the Konkan side. The effect of famine in other parts has greatly affected prices and I cannot yet say to what pitch they may arise. I hear Colonel Wray has finished his report and has taken it himself to Bombay." (December 29th, 1899 to Mr. N.). Some attention had at the same time to be paid to the successor of Colonel Wray at the Agency. Mr. F. suggests to His Highness, and it will be unanimously agreed that he did so very wisely, on December 31st, 1899 :—

" If you get a chance, why not suggest that they should send a Civilian as a Political Agent ? It is very important that the State should have an exceptionally good officer at the Residency now to restore the broken relations with the Darbar and to inspire confidence in the public."

This suggestion ultimately succeeded in bringing that well-known Orientalist Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, I.C.S., and after him Mr. (afterwards the Hon. Sir W.) Morison to the Residency at Kolhapur. The attitude of these two short-termed officers, followed as they were by excellent Political Officers like Col. Seely, Col. Ferris, Col. Wodehouse and Col. Merewether, buried the memories of the years that we have now passed deep in the earth and once more the Maharaja and the Political Agent became friends working in harmony for a commom purpose.

In April 1900, Mr. Jackson, then the P. A., writes :— " I have no doubt your conclusions regarding the Hill Tribes are correct and I agree with every word you say about allowing the free export of fodder. I saw the Mamlatdar at Katkol on my way through and gathered from what he said that the people of the Taluka have not done badly this year. I

heard much the same at Torgal. You must allow me to congratulate you on the personal attention you have given to the administration of famine relief in your State and on the success that has so far attended your efforts. Have you any idea of going to Mahableshwar in May to make the acquaintance of the new Governor ?"

He writes again on 26th May 1900 :—"Many thanks for allowing me to see the enclosed famine and plague report and map. They show that your arrangements are very complete. The District Officer's remarks on the working on the cheap grain shop in 1896-1897 are especially interesting because they show he has a firm grasp of the principle that Government trade in grain in famine time does more harm than good, a principle which is now accepted but which was overlooked for many years, although it was clearly laid down by General Sleeman 60 years ago."

The reader need not rely on these letters only for the excellence of the famine arrangements. On December 20th, the *Samarth* congratulates the Maharaja on the generous order which he had issued by which any one in the State who could not feed his cattle could take the same to the State Thattis where they would be cared for and could take his cattle back whenever convenient to him. Arrangements were also made for selling grass at cheap rates. The State Forests were opened to free grazing. Remissions and suspensions of land revenue were sanctioned on a sufficiently large scale.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Renaissance in Kolhapur.

The children of H. H.—Stay at Panhala—His reverence for his ancestors—the famine—administrative reforms—Education of the Non-Brahmins—His assistants—History of the Hostel idea—the agency of communal leaders—consultations—the Maratha Hostel opened—Col. Sealy's advice—Col. Farris' advice—the Jain Hostel—His Highness on its utility—the Lingayet Hostel—Lord Lamington on the Hostels—Musalman Education—Maratha sympathies for it—the other Hostels—the Miss Clarke Hostel—Prince Rajaram Industrial School—the position of Jingars—the Results of the Movement in and out of Kolhapur—on the State Service—Objections answered.

THE affairs of the State were running on smooth lines after the departure of Col. Wray and the transfer of Mr. C. to British service. The ministry which had to exclude His Highness's orders and make his policies successful was of his own choice and though it still contained same elements which did not fully accord with his wishes, the machine of administration worked without apparent friction. In the meanwhile, his family expanded considerably by the addition of two sons and one daughter to the delight of the whole State. Kolhapur had been very unlucky in this respect for generations past. The unhappy history of the Satara branch of the great Shivaji's House and its sad and sudden close as a ruling family in the forties filled the whole of Maharashtra, except perhaps the small section of its population which was still living in the old world of jealousy for the Maharatta warrior class, with ominious forbodings about the future of that family. Though the second branch of the Royal House still ruled Kolhapur, its career was chequered by many untoward incidents, the least of which was not the demise without

issue of three of the Maharaja's immediate predecessors on the Gadi. Shri Shahu Chhatrapati, however, was fortunate in every way. The first child was a daughter, who was born on March 10, 1894. She was named Shri Radhabai alias Akkasaheb Maharaj. The second child, a daughter named Aubai Akkasaheb, was born on May 23, 1895; but she died shortly after. The third child was the Yuavraj, Shri Rajaram Maharaj, who is to-day the Chhatrapati Maharaja of Kolahpur. He was born on Friday, 31st July 1897. Naturally this occasion was celebrated throughout the State with the most heart-felt rejoicings and both the parents of the future Chhatrapati received enthusiastic felicitations from the public. As a Shastri observed at the crowded public meeting, held n the Rajaram College Hall, because the Hindus looked upon the king as a part of the divine power, the birth of the heir-apparent was to the public mind the advent of a partially divine force into the world and the mother, said the Brahmin, shared with her husband the glory of being the chosen instruments of a high dispensation. The idea may seem grotesque to a modern rational eye. But that certainly was the view of the people at large who attributed the past ill-luck of the Chhatrapatis in this respect to the wrath of that Providence to whose benevolence they now ascribed the auspicious birth of the Yuvaraj. The occasion is thus described in the Annual Report of the State :—" Friday, 31st July 1897, will be a red letter day in the history of the Kolhapur dynasty, being the birth-day of the first direct male heir born in the family during the last 40 years. It was, therefore, in the fitness of things that the event was hailed with as much if not more delight and rejoicings in the family as was His Highness's installation four years ago. That this joy was shared by His Highness's friends, both European and Native, was shown by the numerous congratulatory addresses and messages received by His Highness on the occasion, and His Highness's subjects, ever

on the alert to seize an opportunity for spontaneously manifesting their devotion and esteem for His Highness, would not be deterred even by the prevailing distress from expressing their joy in a suitable manner.

"As is usual on occasion like this, 12 prisoners of good conduct were released and charitable gifts consisting of food, money and clothing were distributed without stint among the needy and poor."

The last child was the second son of His Highness, Prince Shivaji Maharaj, who was born on the 15th of April 1899 at 11 a.m. Except for an attack of convulsions, which had, as may be remembered, troubled His Highness himself in his childhood at Kagal, and which attacked the Yuvaraj about the beginning of 1898, His Highness' family life was a perfect one. The annual raids of bubonic plague, a far more serious terror in those days than it is now, made it necessary for the Maharaja and his family frequently to stay at Panhala, the beautiful hill-fort from which many a dynasty had ruled the territory around. The associations of the Fort, inspiring to even a casual visitor, produced a deep impression on the mind of the Maharaja and his natural reverence for his renowned ancestors developed day by day amidst those eloquent hills and dales of Panhalagada and Pawangad. The Shivaji movement of Poona had his full sympathies in the beginning * A deputation including Mr. B. G. Tilak waited upon him an secured assurance of his support. But the political turn which the movement took under Mr. Tilak's lead compelled His Highness to leave it alone. That by no means meant that

* Col. Sealy, the Political Agent, referred to the Shivaji movement in these words:—(1901).

"By all means let the Maratha students be proud of their national hero, imitate him in his qualities of energy, organisation and leadership and just as we English are at present about to celebrate the millenary of our own great Alfred, so let the Maratha youth also keep its enthusiasm and partriotism green by celebrating the memory of examples like that of Shivaji."

There was no reason for the Maharaja therefore to adopt a cold attitude towards the movement so long as its leaders did not attempt to give it a political extremist colour.

His Highness was behind others in that historical instinct which every one had a right to expect in a direct and lineal descendant of Shivaji himself. He visited the Fort of Malwan (in the Ratnagiri District) in March 1902 to pay his respects to the old image of Shivaji there and so great was his reverence for the founder of his family that he bore on his own shoulders the palanquin bearing the image. The temple of Shivaji lately built by him at Panhala itself faces the old Palace in that Fort so as to enable him to pay his daily homage to Shivaji before going out and bears witness to His Highness's respect for the memory of his departed ancestor. The cluster of little buildings near the Town Hall in Kolhapur, commonly called the Nursery Garden but which deserves a better name, is a striking testimony to the same trait in his character and commemorates the past rulers of Kolhapur in the reverential spirit of the East.

Administrative affairs received full attention. Famine, as I have shown, was added to plague in 1899-1900 and the need of giving relief to the people and the cattle stricken by famine was the principal anxiety of His Highness in these two years. In December of 1899, he issued orders permitting his subjects to leave all the cattle that could not be fed by them in the Thattis of the State where they were to be properly taken care of at State expense and from which they could be taken back by the owners at any time they liked. Arrangements were made for the sale of fodder at cheap rates. The jungles of the State were again thrown open to the public for grazing purposes. Tagai advances were sanctioned to the extent of three quarters of a lakh. For the relief of human sufferers, His Highness sanctioned during these times the construction of three new tanks at Vadgaon, Rukadi and Shirol and the repairing of five old ones, the total cost of the whole programme being four lakhs of rupees.

The Medical Department was reorganised by the appointment of an Assistant Surgeon with an English and Continental

Shivaji Statue at Panhala.

training in science and the creation of a Ladies' section under Miss K. Kelavkar, L.M.&S., who had under State patronage obtained the finishing touches of education and experience in British Hospitals after a distinguished career in the G. M. College at Bombay. A Dispensary was opened at Hatkalangada in addition to the Ahalyabai Ayurvedic Dispensary opened at Kolhapur. The P. W. D. also did good work during this period. Besides the Irrigational tanks referred to above, three large bridges were completed on the Nipani-Dijapur Road and a hundred miles of new pucca roads were constructed.

But the most important feature of the progress which Kolhapur made during these days was the impetus which His Highness gave to the cause of what is called the education of the Backward Classes of his people, but what may more appropriately be called the national education of Maharashtra. Long before others, His Highness realised to the fullest extent the evils arising out of a one-sided educational advancement of the Indian people—one sided because it was closely confined within the narrow limits of a small caste. He found that this unbalanced state of social progress placed the real people in Maharashtra—the non-Brahmin communities—at a great and fatal disadvantage. Armed with the power which knowledge give, the Brahmins, he saw, established themselves firmly and securely in all walks of life, more especially in the Government of the State as well as the Province to which his State belonged. There was no hope, he thought, of the non-Brahmins being rescued from the clutches of the dominating caste unless they were induced to pursue the path of western education and to wrest from the firm grip of the Brahmins the disproportionate share of power which the latter had hitherto usurped. The first step to take was to form a nucleus for the work he had to do. Without a sympathetic administration on which he could rely for carrying out his policy in its spirit, all his efforts would have proved fruitless and remained

mere aspirations which would never have materialised. It was a lucky coincidence which gave Mr. Sabnis to His Highness as a tutor, who had, as we have seen before, now become his Chief Minister or Diwan. Whatever the Official position which Mr. Sabnis occupied, he was his chief adviser in all his work for the Non-Brahmin cause. The Brahmin oligarchy of the minority period fully realised the dangers of an astute Non-Brahmin politician like Mr. Sabnis being by the Maharaja's side and tried their utmost to remove him. Three influential Brahmins, Mr. Tilak who was then a Member of the Bombay Legislative Council, Mr. B. N. Joshi who was the Chief Judge of Kolhapur and Dr. Dhondopunt Borkar who was then the trusted physician of His Highness, urged upon His Highness the necessity of sending Mr. Sabnis back to British service on the ground that they had evidence of his being a traitor to the Maharaja himself! The Maharaja asked them to produce it which they never could do and the attempt only strengthened his confidence in Mr. Sabnis. Mr. Vichare, L.C.E., and Mr. Jadhav, M.A., LL.B., were the next two recruits taken by him under the advice of Mr. Mhaske of the Deccan Association, Poona. A few more graduates of the Maratha and other non-Brahmin castes had also joined the service of the State as Mamlatdars and Munsiffs by this time. Among the non-graduates around him he found some friends of the cause whose enthusiasm for it was no less keen and whose collaboration was no less valuable than that of these educated officers of the State. The place of honour among the whole body must rightly be given to the Maharaja's younger brother, Shrimant Bapusaheb, the Chief of Kagal. He was always the right hand man of His Highness in this work. Straight in all his doings, uncompromising in his devotion to the purpose in view, undeterred by difficulties or dangers, Shri Bapusaheb took the place of the second in command. Popular belief went further and ascribed the power behind the Throne in this respect to Bapusaheb who was for long

Shri Bapusahib, the Chief of Kagal.

looked upon as the chief victim to the fell disease of Brahminophobia. As His Highness once wrote to a friend, the splendid work which the Chief did for the Non-Brahmins was not as fully appreciated by the public as it should have been, only because, as His Highness put it somewhat bluntly, he himself never gave his colleagues any opportunity to have the curtain lifted before them. The list would not be complete—and I am not trying to make it exhaustive—without a reference to another veteran soldier in the army, the late Babasaheb Khanvilkar, a brother-in-law of His Highness. Though without the saving grace of western culture, Babasaheb was a bold and sincere lover of the backward classes and brought to the task before him a doggedness which is all too rare in men. With the facility for illustration from the Shikar world which His Highness so abundantly possessed, he called Babasaheb his "Bucha" who in the course of an attack on a tiger by a pack of his hounds, caught the roaring tiger's tongue and killed that ferocious beast, though at the cost of his own life. That was Babasaheb, ready to make every sacrifice to accomplish the end in view.

The next step was to provide for the education of the rising generation of the Non-Brahmins, a step which His Highness was now to take with the aid of these men. Since some time before 1900, His Highness had provided for a few Maratha students in his own Palace. The first batch of them was cared for in an aristocratic style. It was found that this kindness only served to spoil the boys. The tongas which drove them to the schools were replaced by bullockcarts. Still the atmosphere of the Palace had its deleterious effects on the Maratha boys who learnt the fashions of the Sirdars more quickly than their lessons. This was but natural. The idea at the back of the Maharaja's mind, radiant with the freshness of inexperienced youthfulness, was to cheer up the Maratha boys, convince them of the very keen interest

which the Chhatrapati took in them and make the educational career which was so out of the way for them as attractive as it could possibly be. Experience soon taught him that this would not do. The Brahmin community in Kolhapur had indeed led the way by starting a Hostel for the Brahmin boys in the High Schools and the College in the year 1896. As usual, the institution was designated by a non-sectional name. Half conscious of the Brahmin purpose it was to serve, His Highness gave his support to it. The Annual Report for 1896-97 refers to this Hostel in these terms :—" As scarcity began to prevail in Kolhapur, the charges in the hotels soon rose from Rs. 5 to Rs. 7 and so it was considered that parents in ordinary circumstances would find it difficult to pay them and keep their sons for learning in the High School and College. To give them some sort of relief, a Boarding House has been established and the monthly charges have been fixed at Rs. 5 per head. The management of this concern is made over to a committee especially appointed, with Rao Saheb V. B. Gokhale, Assistant Judge, Kolhapur, for its President. The number of free studentships in the High School and College has also been increased to afford relief to poor students."

The institution did not, it seems, live long, thanks to the apathy of the Brahmin community in such matters. It is possible that the need for restricted liberty during school days was not appreciated by the young men or the parents of this community and this may also be an explanation of the early death of the institution. The Maharaja had by 1900 found out that such general attempts proved of no avail to backward classes like the Marathas. In his Paddock in which he took keen interest all his life, he had observed that the western method of leaving the horses—old and young as well as the weak and the strong— free within the compound with a heap of grass on one side and a tank of water on the other, had enabled the younger and the stronger to eat all

the grass and drink all the water while the older and the weaker were kicked away by the rest from the 'common' stock and pond. The method, he said, did not suit even the beasts and the so-called hostel for all classes did no better. The *laissez faire* policy had enabled the stronger community of Brahmins to reap all the benefits of the educational system and continue their old policy of shutting out the backward classes from all the theoretically 'open' avenues to progress and advancement. The policy took no note of the peculiar situation created in Hindu India by her centuries-old history. That history had so filled the minds of the non-Brahmin Hindus (at any rate throughout the South) with ideas of self depreciation that, left to themselves, they looked upon education as a wholly unnatural pursuit for their class, a pursuit which Nature and Providence unfitted them for. From the Presidential Chair of the Maratha Educational Conference at Khamgaon in 1917, His Highness put the point thus :—
"In this respect, our past is a dark page in history. Learning was the monopoly of only one section of the population. Manu and the subsequent law-givers made different laws according to the ideals of those times for regulating the affairs of different castes and the doors of learning were shut against the lower castes. They were not allowed even to read their own religious books and Vedas. No religion except the Hindu has the distinction of acting in this blind and sorry manner."

On another occasion, His Highness asked :—"Formerly education was so difficult a job for us that even the Maharaja of Satara"—obviously the reference is to Pratapsinha Maharaja—"had to take lessons at midnight. What of others then ?"

The result was that the policy of passivity hitherto followed by the British Government and the various Indian States had to be abandoned in favour of a policy of active and special help to the educationally backward communities. It was not, however, wise indiscriminately to waste the resources

of the State without creating in the classes concerned a certain amount of initial receptivity or a willingness to move and assimilate the advantages offered. His Highness had found from his experience with the Maratha students whom he had put up in his Palace that a useful outside stimulus presupposed an innate capacity to profit by it : tonics proved of no good to the dead or the dying. He therefore set himself to finding out the natural leaders of the communities whom he wanted to give a start on the road to progress. His determination to leave each caste to its own leaders was unbending all through his life. When, many years after the period with which we are dealing here, His Highness was described by the admiring crowds of the depressed classes as their leader, he stoutly refused to accept a position of that kind. At a conference of the Depressed Classes at Mangaon (in the Kagal State) under the Chairmanship of Mr. Ambedkar, a graduate of the Mahar community, on March 21, 1920, His Highness said :—"I respectfully want, however, to impress upon the audience the fact that mistakes in the choice of worthy leaders are the root cause of our wretched condition. Selfish people, with the object of becoming famous by sweet words, become leaders and thus deceive the ignorant masses. We must appoint leaders from our own caste. Even birds and beasts do the same. A beast is never made a leader of birds ; or a bird, of beasts. It is because of the leadership of a shepherd in the case of cows, bullocks and sheep that the latter are ultimately sent to the butcher-house."

The analogy may not be perfect. But it was quite true that many so-called leaders from other castes failed the people whose cause they professed to espouse at critical moments and some less scrupulous, although more stout-hearted, 'leaders' took the lead for exploiting the 'Depressed Classes' for their own purposes. At least in one case, the Depressed Classes had found that the 'Leader' misled them even against the wishes of every one of their own thinking

men to give a go-bye to their unanimous demand for communal representation in the reformed Councils and his only object was to propitiate the gods of his nationalist party and obtain applause from it. This is, however, another story.

His Highness now made up his mind to take definite steps for backing up the backward classes in educational matters. He was already a patron of the Deccan Association which had appreciated his valued patronage by electing him to its Presidentship. He had discussed the problem with liberal-minded Brahmins like Mr. Ranade and Mr. Gokhale who had approved of his ideas on the subject. It may here be noted that His Highness was never slow to admit what he owed to such true Brahmins in matters like this. Early in his career, he had come in contact with them and knew that they had done good work in the direction in which he now wished to go forward. "My friends the late lamented Justice Ranade and Gopalrao Gokhale," he told a Non-Brahmin audience at Bombay in November 1918, "had worked for the betterment of the backward people. It was from them that I got the idea first that great efforts must be made to spread education among the backward people." What was wanting in them was that with all their intellectual recognition of the goodness of the cause they showed the same lack of active sympathy and readiness to go the whole length which characterised all leaders from outside the Backward Communities themselves and for which he advised them to put their faith only in their own men.

Thus prepared to go forward, he consulted educationists of all kinds on the point. One of them, Mr. Giles, the then Director of Public Instruction, wrote thus in 1900: "I am exceedingly glad to receive a letter from your Highness and I need hardly say that I shall be glad to talk over with you the project for a Boarding School for Marathas. I entirely agree that it is most essential that some special effort should be made to bring the Marathas forward educationally. Their

own habits and sentiments are not in the direction of higher education and consequently they, as compared with the Brahmin Community, fall behind. I remember when I visited the Kolhapur College that I found that the Marathas did not stick to the course and go through with it. As a result I very seldom get (from them) applications for employment in the Educational Department and in the other Departments, too, it is much the same."

His Highness was not thinking at this time only of the Maratha caste. In the beginning of 1901, he heard of the Jain Conference which was going to be held at a shrine of that community near Nipani a few days later and he asked Mr. Patil, a Jain Graduate in his service, to hurry up to the place and assure the Jains of his sympathy for the cause they had at heart. Being a Mahalkari at Raibag where His Highness was then in camp, Mr. Patil hesitated to leave his office; but the Maharaja told him that he would take care of himself and asked Mr. Patil to attend the Conference. The Jain Conference decided to open a Hostel for its students at Kolhapur and did so in April 1901. Certain differences among the leading men of the community, however, prevented the organisers from approaching His Highness for immediate help; but it came on, a few years later, in full abundance, as I shall presently show. In the meanwhile Her Majesty the Queen-Empress Victoria the Good had died and His Highness thought that the Maratha Hostel would be a fitting memorial to her eventful reign which had opened the doors of knowledge, hitherto closed and sealed with the sanction of the Shastras, to the Maratha and similar backward communities. As the Secretary of the Hostel, Meherban Mhaisalkar, put it, it was "in this reign that the lower strata of the masses of the Indian population have begun to understand the importance of education and the heads of several communities, such as Mahomedans, Jains, Shenvis, Prabhus, etc., have been establishing institutions for the spread of educa-

The Victoria Mahratta Students' Institution.

tion in their respective communities," and it was "to the rapid growth of this idea (among the Marathas) that our present institution owes its inception." The Maratha Students' Institute, named after the late Queen, was opened on April 18, 1901, under the Presidentship of His Highness. Besides a building with a large compound for its extension, His Highness gave the new Institute the nucleus of a permanent endowment which was soon raised by him to over Rs. 47,000. Large buildings have been added to the old quarters and provide lodgings for a hundred students. His Highness has strengthened the income of the Institute by an annual grant of Rs. 550 and a landed income of about Rs. 2,000 a year. The funds of this as well as the other Hostels deposited in the State Treasury bear an interest of 8 per cent. per annum. Scholarships on a liberal scale are also allowed to the inmates of all these institutions.

The foundation stone of the new quarters was laid by Colonel Sealy on September 25. The Colonel emphasised the usefulness of the institution to the Marathas and added :—

"If I may be permitted to add a few words of advice, I would urge on the committee that the scope of the institution should embrace, not only boarding and lodging at a cheap rate of the Maratha students who come to Kolhapur for educational purposes, but the committee should not neglect the moral (I might say, religious) well-being of the students. The institution should exclude from its precincts anything in the way of immoral or vicious characteristics. Much will depend on the person or persons charged with the superintendence of the institution; for I must warn you that the mere training of intellect, unaccompanied by moral training, will never turn out good subjects of the State. The State provides intellectual training; you must see to the moral or religious training yourselves."

Nor was Colonel Sealy slow to recognise that the effort for the uplift of one caste did not form the whole duty of the State. He said :—

"And in conclusion, do not forget that the State of Kolhapur does not consist of Marathas alone. Whilst doing all you can to forward the interests of the Maratha community, do not forget that the body politic has other members, and let your efforts always be directed, even when pursuing your own individual ends, to the common good, the common weal."

Colonel Ferris and Mr. Pease, M.P., visited the Maratha Hostel in March 1902 and gave a welcome impetus to its noble work by their encouraging and sympathetic advice. The Colonel referred to the institution and its work in these words :—

"I imagine that to few Englishmen have fallen opportunities for marking the development of Maratha aspirations. For when, more than 30 years ago, I first came to Kolhapur, the community was a backward and ignorant one, and although this is a Maratha State, there was not a ministerial or other office held by the Marathas, save in a menial capacity. This was an unsatisfactory state of things, but it was not remediable then. Development could only come from within, and, even in those days, a power was springing up from among you, which was destined to foster and further that development. Your Maharaja, with some of his Maratha Feudatories, was being educated for the fulfilment of high duties and with their development was bound up the development of the community. The objects kept in view by the Maratha Education Society are admirable, and if the Marathas do not take advantage of the opportunities now offered to them, the fault will be theirs and other communities may be excused if they look upon them as a degenerate race."

The goal of the education which the Hostel was intended to spread among the Marathas, according to the Colonel, was:—

"You should take your education, in the first place, as a means towards the moral elevation of the community and

not solely for the material aggrandisement of the individual. Learn above all things to be independent, strike out for yourselves new lines, and emancipate yourselves from servile adherence to conservative notions."

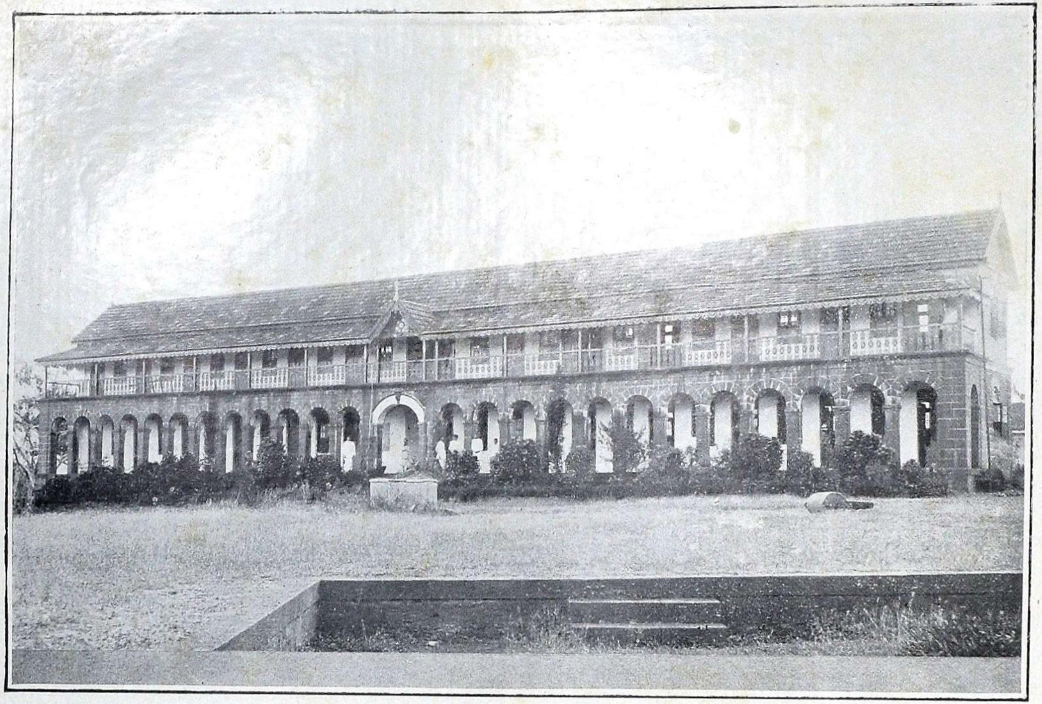
Mr. Alfred E. Pease, M.P., in a sympathetic speech expressed the great satisfaction which both Mrs. Pease and himself felt in being allowed to take part in the proceedings in connection with the Maratha Education Society. Hewas in the fullest sympathy with the aims and objects of the Institution and desired that all those who had promoted the object they had met to forward might see the realisation of their hopes. They certainly might be congratulated on all they had done within the year. Thus encouraged, the instititution carried on its work during the years that followed with much vigour and enthusiasm. It had some eighty students on its rolls when the Maharaja died. Of these, 9 attended the Rajaram College and the rest read in the various High Schools in Kolhapur.

The Jain Hostel which was established in April 1901 was brought on a permanent basis in 1904, when His Highness laid the foundations of its main building on the beautiful Chauphala Mal opposite to the Maratha Hostel, a gift to the Southern Maratha Jain Association from the Maharaja himself. When he decided to give that prominent site to the Jains, a small coterie of courtiers opposed the grant on some grounds or other, all of which were actuated by envy for the Jains being thereby able, as they feared, to loom larger than themselves in the public eye. The difficulties they created seemed at one time to be so insuperable that the first programme of laying the foundation stone had to be dropped. His Highness, however, was firm. He was, it appears, aware that the intrigues going on against the Jains getting that site would reach the Resident whose name was freely mentioned in private conversation by the intriguers as the chief obstacle in their way. On 16th June 1904, he tells Colonel Ferris, who was then the Resident at Kolhapur :—

"You would be glad to learn that the Jains are building a Boarding House for students of their caste and a site has been granted to them near old Dr. Sinclair's house, opposite to the Maratha Boarding House. Perhaps you may get a complaint from some people here which would of course be without any foundation. I write this as I think it most desirable to encourage that community. It would go to break off the monopoly of one caste."

The Jains were told that the Resident would never allow that site to be built on, that a kitchen there would emit smoke which would disturb him when he passed that way, and that no privies could even be permitted at a place like that. His Highness was, however, so keen over the matter that the Jains felt his pulse very easily and their Hostel on that very site was soon an accomplished fact. His Highness himself opened the new buildings in the following year. In the course of his reply to the address of the Secretary, Mr. Latthe, His Highness said :—

"The request has been made on behalf of the Southern Maratha Jain Association and I consider that the birth of associations like this indicates unmistakably the directions of the powerful influences that have been working under the benign rule of the British Government. One of the beneficent results of that rule is the commencement of the emancipation of the backward classes from the intellectual and social thraldom to which they had been subjected from time immemorial and the tendencies that are the outcome of our contact with the West are nowhere better illustrated than in such attempts of those communities to raise themselves. We see very encouraging signs of an internal awakening of the masses. The warlike, the agricultural, the industrial and the commercial classes have all come to recognise the necessity of spreading education among their communities and for that purpose have started associations in different parts of the country. In this small city, it is very gratifying to see



The Jain Students' Hostel.

the sister Institutions of the Marathas and the Jains established side by side and I trust that with mutual love and co-operation they will advance hand in hand in the path of progress.

"I would certainly lay no great claim to any credit for their creation but I have always made it a point to hold out every encouragement to these classes and it is a genuine pleasure to me to mark their progress and I trust I may be excused if I am inclined to look upon the results, small as they are, with a feeling bordering on pride."

Continuing, His Highness observed :—

"I listened with great attention to your interesting address and I felt particularly gratified by your "remark from here we might send forth not only promising doctors, lawyers, engineers and statesmen but talented merchants and skilful agriculturists who will carry forward to coming ages the hitherto interrupted annals of ancient times with fresh vigour." That shows the goal of your ambition. I quite realise how, for the present, you, like all backward classes, feel handicapped in the race of life and in your first efforts to raise yourselves seek external help ; but I would hold up for imitation your most laudable resolve to do away with the go-cart as soon as you are able to stand on your own legs and with all my heart, I wish you success in your endeavours to do so."

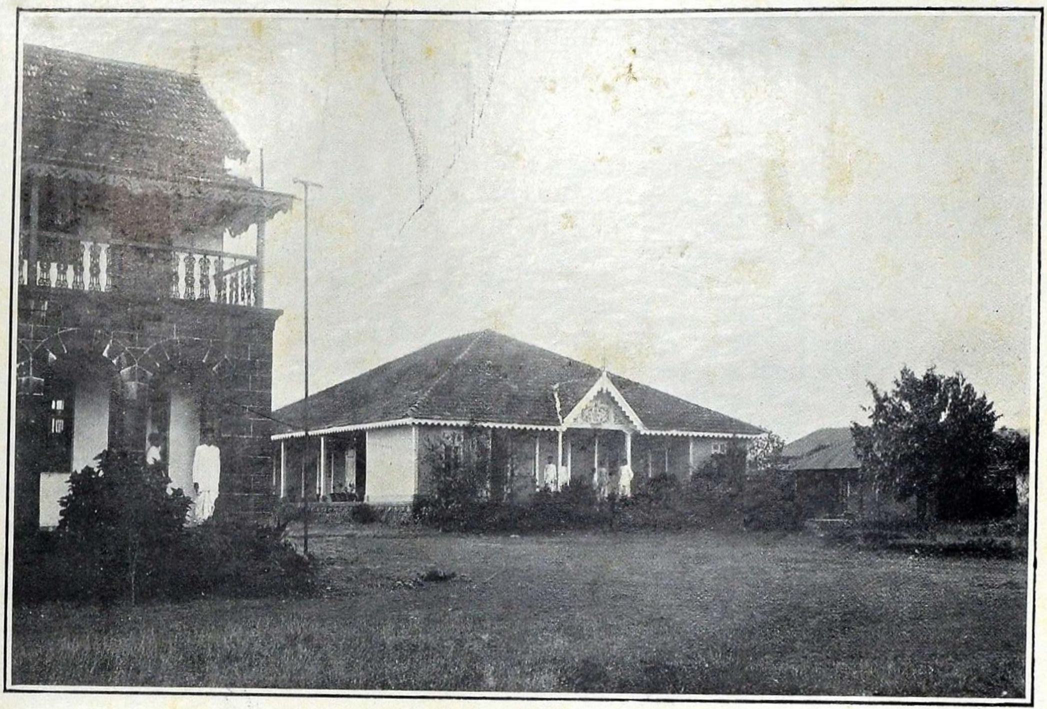
The group of buildings constituting the Jain Hostel now consists of rooms for a hundred students, a Lecture Hall, a Temple, etc., the total cost of which exceeds Rs. 50,000, a major portion whereof was contributed by Sheth Manickchand Hirachand, a Jain philanthropist of Bombay. His Highness entertained a very high regard for Sheth Manickchand and continued his friendship with him till the latter's death in 1914. His Highness met him for the first time when in August 1902 he spent a few hours in his bungalow at Chowpatty on his return from England and the Shethji's genial nature,

simplicity of manners, unstinted munificence and disinterested work for the relief of the poor soon turned that acquaintance into a lasting friendship. There are at present about ninety boys in the Hostel, about 20 of whom are reading in the College. Besides contributing to its funds, His Highness paid an annual grant of Rs. 350 to the Hostel and extended to it all the facilities which the Marathas enjoy in the State Schools.

Next in order of time comes the Lingayat Hostel. Mr. Chaugle, a Law Graduate of the University, who was in his service and who was later on promoted to the Chief Judgeship in the State by His Highness himself, a position he is occupying to-day, was induced in 1907 to start an educational movement in his own community. In the Karnatak, the leaders of the Lingayats had already made good progress and His Highness invited the Sardesai of Wantmuri and Rao Bahadur Artal to help the local Lingayats. The result of their visit to Kolhapur in June 1907 was the Veerashiva (Lingayat) Hostel on the western bank of the Rankala Talao, giving accommodation to over fifty students. In February 1907 His Highness attended the Lingayat Conference in a hill-shrine called Sidhagiri, eight miles away from Kolhapur, and encouraged the community in its noble efforts. Like its elder sisters of the Maratha and the Jain communities, this Hostel was also the recipient of substantial help in the form of donations and grants from the Maharaja.

His Excellency Lord Lamington, who visited Kolhapur in October 1904, referred to some of these institutions in eulogistic terms and said :—

" Mention has been made of the Boarding School in which His Highness takes so much interest. The Maratha Boarding School has for its object the education of the backward classes. It is not long ago that I had a petition in the interest of one of these backward classes which pointed out the disabilities under which they labour in life, and I do not believe any greater philanthropic work can be undertaken by anybody



The Chaturbai Hall of the Jain Hostel.

in high position than to try and do something to give a better start to those who are thrown out of the ordinary organisation and employments of life."

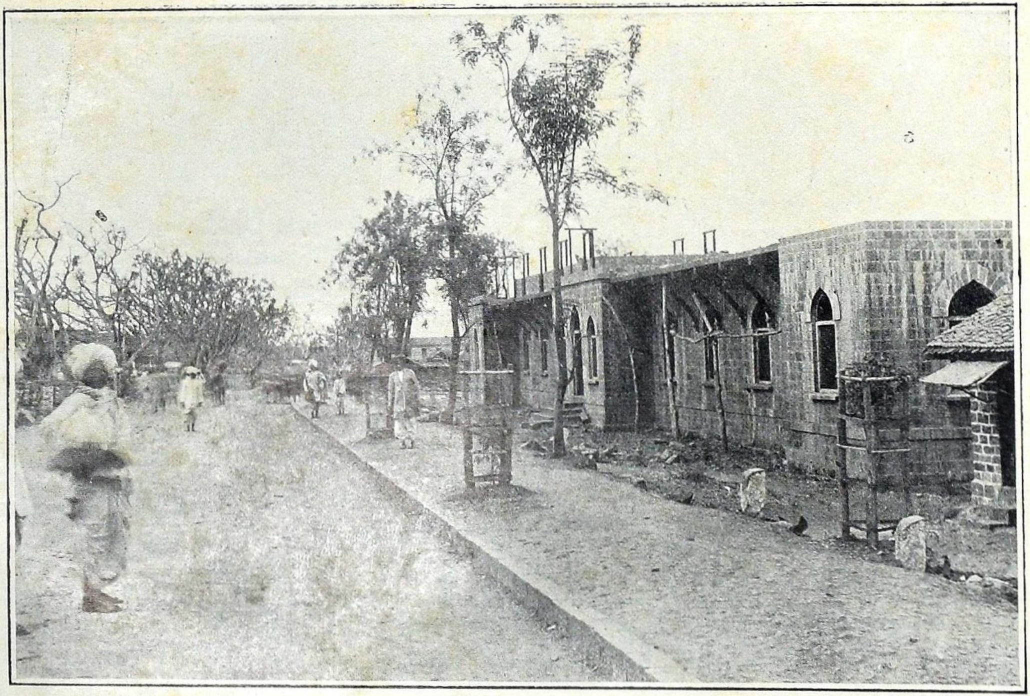
His Excellency said on another occasion the same day :—

"This morning I had occasion to compliment His Highness upon the—I might almost say—lavish care he has bestowed upon education. I think he is almost over-generous in some respects, that he does not perhaps insist on people doing all they can to help themselves. He is almost too generous and one of the things I have learned in life is that people never take full advantage of what is given them unless they make some sacrifice on their own part. However, I think everybody will agree that if this is a fault on the part of His Highness, it is a fault in the right direction."

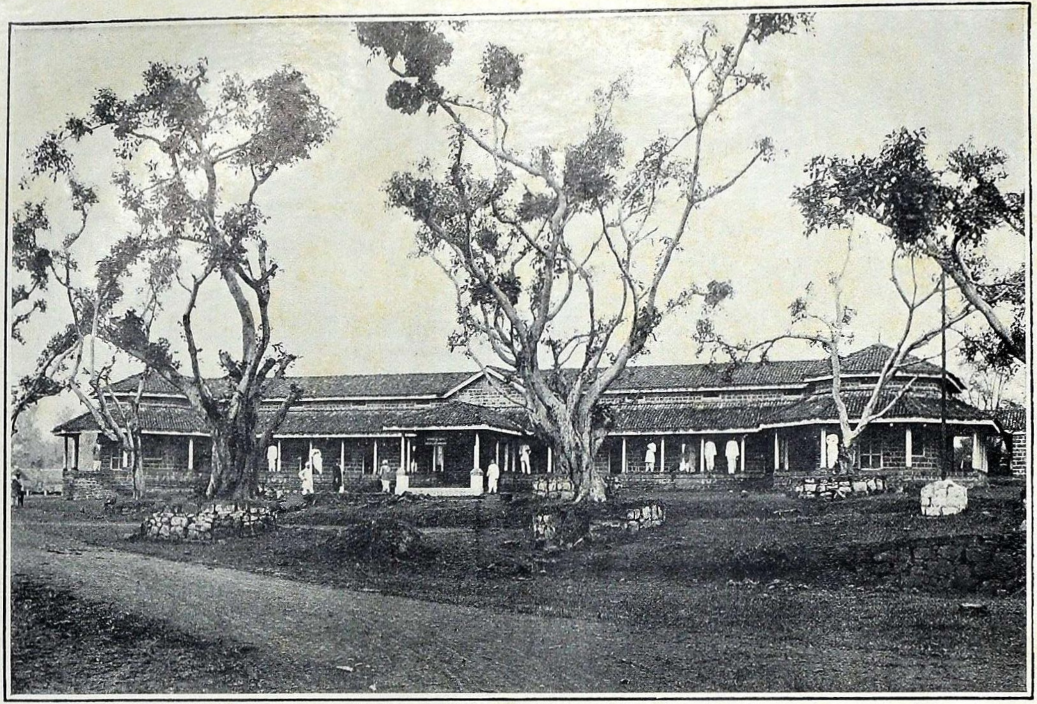
These remarks were particularly applicable to the attempt which His Highness now wished to make for the Mahomedan community in his State. The Mussalmans in British India under the far-sighted guidance of Sir Sayad Ahmad had been trying to instil a love for English education in the minds of their youths for many years past. But though they numbered 34,500 in the Kolhapur State, they had not been affected by the general movement in Hindustan to any appreciable extent. Some feeble attempts to rouse the community from its lethargy were being made by the Deccan Mahomedans ; but they had not been fruitful. When His Highness returned from his European tour in 1902, the Mahomedans of Kolhapur presented a welcome address, in reply to which he urged upon their attention the need of a special educational movement among their backward and therefore fallen community. He assured them of his support if they started an institution for the purpose ; but nothing was done by the Mussalmans at this time. So His Highness' first step for the advancement of the Mahomedans was to admit a few of their students, about ten in all, into the Maratha Hostel. That showed that though the Maratha leaders were directly concerned with their own

caste, they were not sectional or narrow-minded in their educational sympathies. One may go a step further and say that while the Brahmins, who assumed comprehensive titles for their institutions, were turning them in actual practice for their own use, the Marathas under the leadership of the Maharaja were giving the advantage of their so-called caste organisation to all allied communities, including, when necessary, even the Mussalmans and Christians. One of these, Mr. Usaf Abdulla who had now taken his Arts Degree, was taken into State Service and entrusted with the duty of giving an impetus to the cause of education among his co-religionists. Being young and inexperienced, however, Mr. Vichare—a Maratha gentleman—had to be for some time in charge of the Mahomedan Hostel which was started in November 1906. In Kolhapur, the fraternity of Islam is not in a very prosperous condition and His Highness could not make the institution thrive by these measures. If anywhere, it was here that His Highness had to lavish his generosity. He paid Rs. 5,500 to the Mussalman building fund. A suitable site was of course given free in June 1907 for this building. A grant of Rs. 250 a year was sanctioned. And last but not least, a total annual landed income of Rs. 6,745 was given to the institution. It will thus be seen that it owes its present solid foundations to the unstinted generosity of His late Highness. The building, which is still not complete, is calculated to provide for 50 students. In the last year of His Highness, 32 students were deriving benefit from it, of whom five were in the Rajaram College.

The movement thus started on a catholic basis worked as a leaven throughout the whole non-Brahmin Society of the State. The Namdeo or Shimpi caste organised a communal conference in Kolhapur under the leadership of Mr. Bartakke, now in the Baroda Service but then a resident of Kolhapur itself. The first result of this was the Namdeo Hostel for students in which 30 boys are provided for. The Daivadnya



The Mussalman Hostel for Students. (Still under construction.)



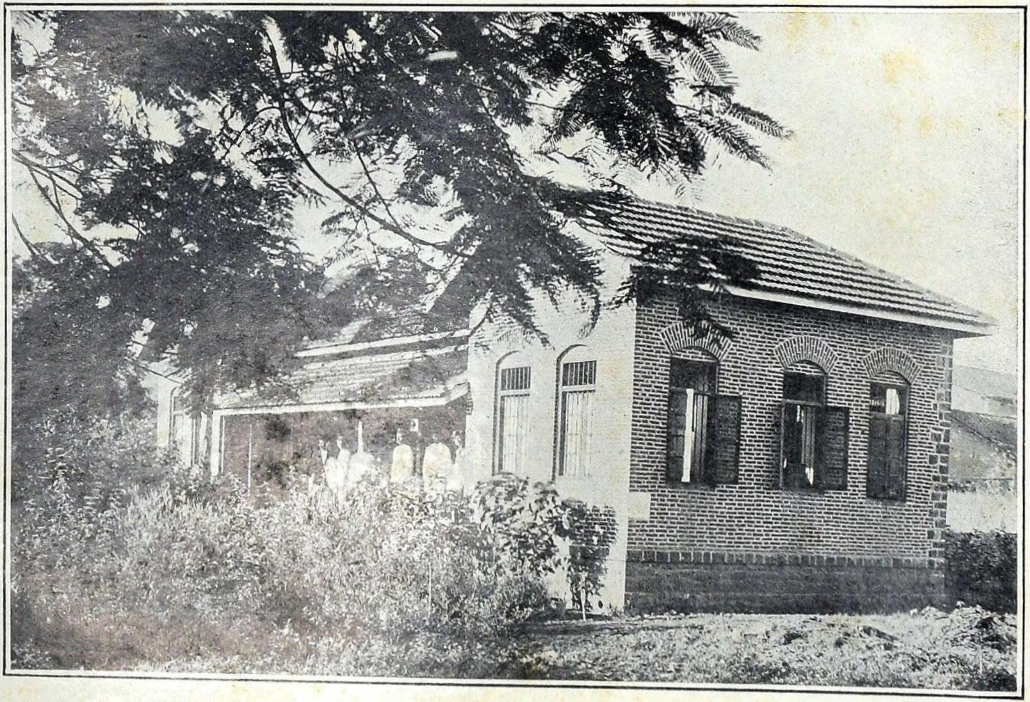
The Sarswat Students' Hostel.

Brahmins—whose Brahminship is stoutly denied by the other Brahmins—went in for a Hostel of their own, affording facilities for 22 students in 1921. The Saraswats or Shenvis —another Brahmin community whose claims to be described under that title are so maliciously resisted by the jealous monopolists of the term 'Brahmin'—received a gift of a site worth Rs. 5,000 for their Hostel in addition to a small maintenance grant for the institution. The building fund given by a generous lady of the community—Mrs. Saraswatibai Latkar—was supplemented by a donation of Rs. 1,600 from His Highness. It accommodates some thirty students. The small but useful Prabhu community in Kolhapur was also enabled to have a similar institution providing for thirty students. His Highness generously assisted the Hostel with a building contribution amounting to Rs. 15,000 and it has the peculiar feature of perpetuating the name of Rao Bahadur R. V. Sabnis, C.I.E., whose life-work in Kolhapur is so closely interwoven with the story of His Highness himself and whose association with him helped him in no small measure to foster the spirit thus created among the people of his State.

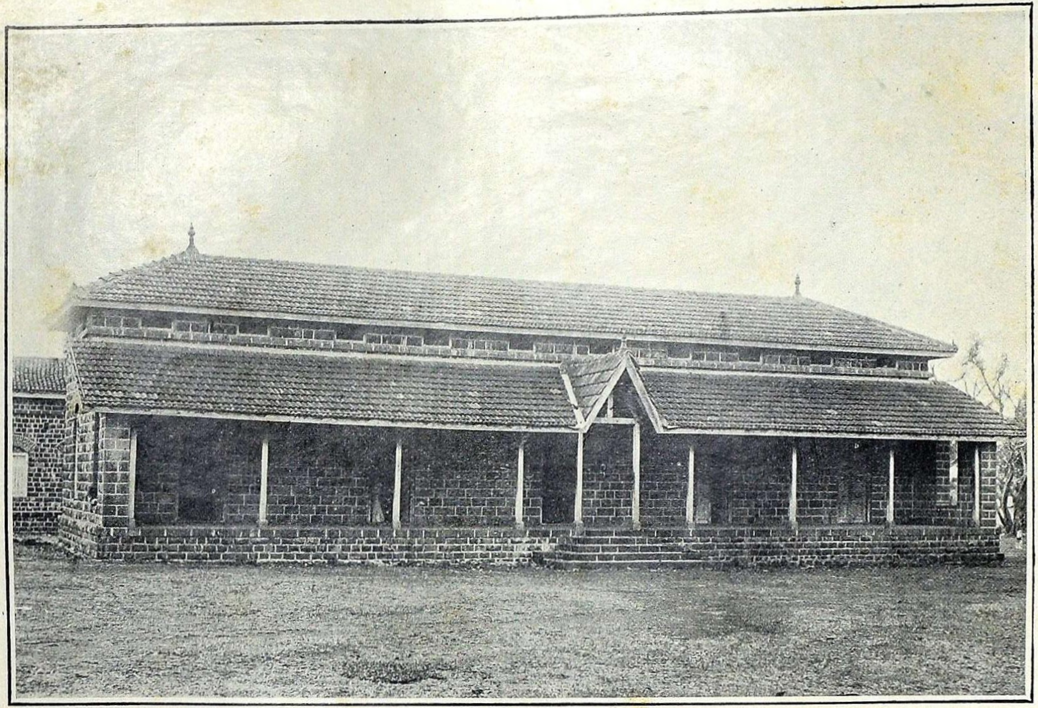
The Miss Clarke Hostel for the so-called untouchable classes in Kolhapur occupies a very prominent place on this side of the Maharaja's enlightened activities. Among these classes themselves, it was impossible in the beginning to find men who could be trusted to take the lead. A small band of educated non-Brahmins therefore took up the work in February 1908, met in the Jain Hostel on the 9th of that month and formed themselves into "a Society for the promotion of education among the Depressed Classes." The standard of education in the Vernacular State Schools for these classes was so low that those who had passed through them could not be properly admitted into the Middle School Classes and hence a beginning had to be made with a training class for these boys to be coached for the secondary education which was to follow. Besides His Highness—people of all non-Brahmin commu-

nities, new and old, assisted the work. The names of Col. Wodehouse, the Resident, who took the keenest interest in this Society and Shri Jinsen Swami, the orthodox high priest of the Jains, may be specially mentioned. After the training was completed, the boys were sent to the High School and for the convenience and comfort of these students, the Society started a small Hostel with 7 students in the Ekweri Temple premises in Rawiwar Peth, kindly lent for the purpose by His Highness. The visit of Miss Clarke to Kolhapur and the interest she took in the Depressed Classes movement generally in her short career in this country induced His Highness to name the Hostel after her. Subsequently His Highness placed the site with the building standing thereon at the disposal of the institution. The comfortable quarters added on to the old structure in 1914 received from His Highness a full half of the total cost incurred by the Committee of Management. Twenty-two High School boys were taking advantage of this Hostel when His Highness died. This was, however, only the little stream which later on, as we shall see in another chapter, grew into a voluminous current.

Mention might also be made here of the awakening among the Karajgars or Jingars—the Arya Kshatriyas as they denominate themselves—which led some time afterwards to the establishment of a students' Boarding House and Prince Rajaram Industrial School by this community. The Jingars are one among the many Hindu castes which have suffered grievously at the hands of the priesthood for no other fault than that of being an intelligent and therefore self-assertive class of the non-Brahmins. Originally of a Kshatriya origin they betook themselves to the thriving profession of manufacturing Jins (saddles) for the horses of the Maratha army. The economic prosperity which their skilful artizanship in this and various other fields gave them, created in their minds a wholly legitimate ambition to free themselves from the shackles of Sudrahood imposed on all non-Brahmins. The



Miss Clarke Hostel for Depressed Classes Students.



The Kayasth Prabhu Students' Hostel.

consequence was that they were subjected to the same persecution as was the unfailing lot of all self-respecting Hindu communities at the hands of the Brahmins under the inspiration of the Peshwas and their Sirdars. The Hindus, as a whole, took their cue from the Brahmins and began to look upon them as lower than the depressed classes themselves on the specious ground that they worked upon leather in making the saddles! No barbers would shave them and no washerman would wash their clothes! The first problem for the Jingars was therefore to free themselves from this stigma attached to their names. The agitation set on foot for this purpose received the hearty support of the Maharaja. But social prejudices, so skilfully fostered by the teachings of the Brahmins, could not be overcome in a day and they soon found that the better course for them to follow was to elevate themselves by better education and by progress on their old industrial and technical lines. His Highness had already employed one of their trained men in the Jayasingrao Technical School at Kolhapur. Mr. Yamnajirao Amble, a resourceful factory owner of Nipani and an ardent Satya Shodhaka type of social reformer, was also encouraged to open a foundry at Shahupuri, the new commercial suburb of Kolhapur brought into existence by and named after His Highness in the early years of his regime. Through these men, a conference of the Arya Kshatriya (also called Jingar or Karajgar) Vidya Vardhak Samaj was held at Kolhapur in August 1920, in the course of which His Highness opened the Rajaram Industrial School and the Karajgar Students' Hostel. The Samaj itself had been started in 1903 and had produced a few Graduates in Arts and Law among the Jingars. *The Times of India* thus described the help which His Highness gave to these institutions :—

"His Highness has generously given them a spacious building in Kolhapur, worth more than Rs. 30,000 to be used as a Boarding House for students of the community, as a show-room of the various industrial products of the

community and also as an industrial school. His Highness has also given a yearly pecuniary grant for the up-keep of the boarding house and has promised to offer an equal quota to the fund raised for the desired uses."

The special feature of this movement, hitherto absent from the other movements of its kind inaugurated under the auspices of His Highness, was the industrial turn given to it. He had fully realised the need of directing the attention of the backward classes to this side of progress. While his keen interest in the liberal education of these classes never abated, he had enough breadth of view to perceive the defects of one-sided activities. On December 27, 1917, he told the Maratha Educational Conference :—

" The question of education, therefore, in its many-sided activities ought to receive our first attention. It is not enough that we should be only agriculturists or soldiers. It is necessary that we should engage ourselves in trade and commerce and in higher professions. We don't at present engage ourselves in trade and commerce. In the twentieth century the prosperity of a nation depends upon its trade and commercial activities. In fact, trade and commerce is the religion of the western nations. I mean by religion here intelligent self-interest. Unless we engage, therefore, in commercial enterprises, all our activities would be unsound and come to nothing. My faith in commercial activities being great, I have already interested both of my sons and other near relatives in them and I am happy to say they have not only taken kindly to them but are making very satisfactory progress."

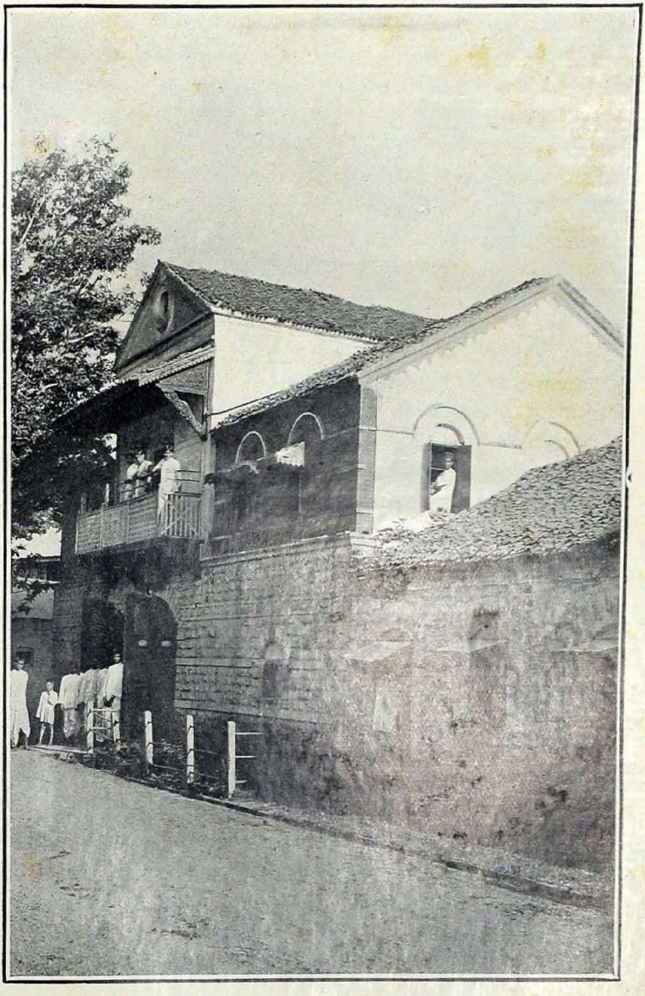
The address delivered by His Highness in opening the Industrial School named after the Yuvaraj—the present Maharaja Saheb—enlarged his views on the topic. A firm believer in industrial activities as he was, he told the conference that he was content to use Jingar-made articles himself and assured them that the progress of the country depended

on industrial developments. Following the pernicious example of the Brahmins who withheld all their knowledge from their countrymen, the artist classes in India had also neglected the sacred duty of imparting the knowledge in their keeping to others. "The true preservation of knowledge is not," the Maharaja said, "in preserving it as a secret. By committing this mistake the Brahmins degraded themselves and the non-Brahmins remained shrouded in ignorance. Our arts also decayed owing to the same cause."

The numerous Hostels for students of the various communities, each a small thing by itself, have had a strong and far-reaching reaction not only on Kolhapur but on the whole of the Maharaja country. The work which they accomplished —not yet a complete work by any means—was a source of great satisfaction to His Highness. In the next few pages our main duty will be to trace the effects of this educational work in the fields of religion and social activities. In the meantime it is necessary to note here the immediate results of the policy underlying the starting of these institutions. The removal of the dearth of qualified men to fill up the State Departments and to reduce the excessive influence of one caste in the administration was the first object of this policy, an object, which is often made a ground for attack on that policy. State employment, it is urged by these critics, is a very insignificant matter. It is not the highest goal of a man's or community's ambitions. Far wider fields, we are told, lie open for conquest by the trained intellect of man. Industries and commerce, trade and agriculture, these are the fittest ambitions of intelligent humanity. The Backward Classes have hitherto pursued these high objects. Why should they foresake them for the trivialities of official life? The answer to this was that those higher objects were never lost sight of or neglected by the pioneers of educational movements among these communities. Secondly it may be pointed out that the due balancing of social forces in the political and

administrative life of the nation is a far more important necessity than these critics would seem to admit. By itself, State Service is incomparably smaller than industry and commerce. But the power it gives and the need for reducing the domination of other castes by only one caste, make the search for State appointments a nobler aspiration than it otherwise would be. And after all, what is the immediate function of a wise ruler ? Is it not to see that the machinery under his own direct control is well-balanced ? His Highness' first concern was then to see that the various elements of the population were represented in proper proportion in the administrative system of his State. The change which His Highness' policy effected in this connection may be indicated by a few figures. In the General Department, of the 71 officers in the State, 60 were Brahmins in 1894, the year in which His Highness was installed. In 1922, 36 out of 95 were Brahmins and the rest of them—59—were non-Brahmins. In the Khasgi Department, we similarly find that while in 1894 there were 46 Brahmins to 7 non-Brahmins, in 1922 the Brahmins were reduced to 43 while the non-Brahmins became 109 with one additional 'untouchable' to boot.

Writing after the event, one may now say that this communal transformation of the State Service could not have presented a great difficulty to His Highness. The facts were wholly otherwise. The spirit of the opposition may be easily gathered from the criticism which the organ of the Brahmin community in Kolhapur, the *Samarth*, was levelling against the appointment of non-Brahmins. Naturally enough, some of the non-Brahmin Graduates appointed came from outside the State. A flank attack was made on them on the ground that they were outsiders or were not educated in the Rajaram College. "Already," the *Samarth* says on January 23, 1901, "The Darbar has erred enough in this direction. There is deep displeasure and serious disquietude among Rajaramian graduates in this matter." It did not



Hostel for Namdev Students (Tailors).

matter if the Rajaramians occupied posts throughout the Presidency and even outside. It was only a matter of pride for all. But no non-Brahmin was to be brought into Kolhapur. A few days later, the administrator of Jamkhandi calls for applications for a certain post and says that non-Brahmins would be preferred. " No one is so ignorant of the spirit of the present age," says the same Brahmin advocate, " as not to recognise that resistance is futile." It goes on to complain that the appointment of non-Brahmins in the State would be certainly resented by the Brahmin Chief—then a minor—when he came to power. The obvious inference was that such appointments were not proper in a Brahmin State. But the same critic severely chastised Colonel Ferris, who became Resident at Kolhapur in 1902, for saying that, in a Maharatta State, the Marathas might be preferred to others if other things were equal. That the officers selected by the Maharaja could not be assailed on the ground of unfitness is clear from what the *Samarth* itself said on one occasion :—

"Almost all of them (the new officers) are University men of very high order of intelligence, but the various elements have not been kept in due proportion and a preponderating influence of the non-Brahmin elements seems to account for the occurrence of events during the recent few years" which the paper complains of.

It was not then the merits of the new officials that could be questioned. It was the influence which they—the accursed non-Brahmins—now obtained for the first time in Kolhapur which pinched the educated Brahmins of that place. It should here be remembered that the special efforts made by the backward classes were not—in common decency they could not be—criticised by these exponents of Brahmin opinion. The defence, for instance, which the present writer put forth in requesting His Highness to lay the foundation stone of the Jain Hostel on August 17, 1904, was characterised by the same critic as being " certainly worth a careful

perusal by those who took a deep interest in the cause of education." But though the education of the non-Brahmin was welcome, the natural result it would lead to was not welcome to the Brahmins.

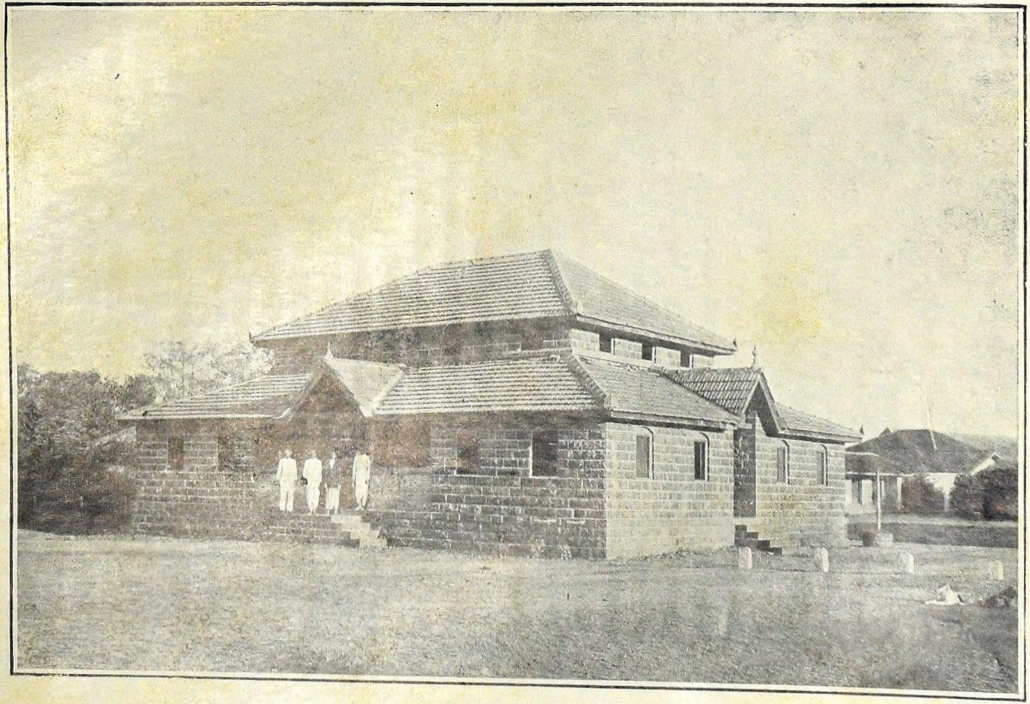
Undaunted by these attacks and they were not the least virulent of them, His Highness pursued the even tenor of his wise policy all his life. Writing to a friend, on February 29, 1904, he observes :—

"Last year, at the public service examination here, nearly one-third of the successful candidates were from among the backward classes and what is remarkable is, that one of them headed the list and most of the others took high rank even when they had Brahmin Examiners. I should think that a similar ruling in the British Districts might go far towards breaking down the supremacy of one caste by getting qualified men from other castes. I can say this from my experience of last year."

The ruling alluded to here is the order which His Highness issued from England in July 1902, reserving fifty per cent. of the posts in the service for backward classes and closing them for advanced castes like the Brahmins, the Prabhus and the Parsees. The order was regarded as a great sacrilege at that time though the complaint should have been only the other way about, *viz.*, that the backward classes which far outnumbered the advanced should have had a much greater percentage of posts reserved for them than the fifty per cent. which His Highness reserved under that order.

A little later His Highness tells a friend in England :—

"I have been trying to raise the level of the backward classes and it gives me real pleasure to find that the Maharatta Education Society has kept up its progress. We shall soon have a similar Society of Jains here. I am giving them too a helping hand. The difficulties with the Brahmins, I am afraid, will never end. The religious difference, it seems



The Hall of the Rao Bahadur Sabnis K. Prabhu Students' Hostel.

they are not very serious about. The fact of the matter would appear to be that my policy of bringing forward the backward classes is viewed with disfavour by most of them. But they have to reconcile themselves to the new surroundings and the change that time has brought about. The feudatories too will take time before they see things in the new light that is being thrown on them. With such difficulties to face, I have rather a hard task before me."

The contents of this letter shed a useful light on the motive of the great hue and cry raised by the educated Brahmins against the Vedokta policy of the Darbar. It was more because power—temporal power—in the State was passing out of their hands that the Brahmins were swearing vengeance against His Highness, and not because of the mere religious ceremony. The Vedokta was an occasion for a trial of strength and nothing more. As yet, as His Highness says in June 1905, the ten non-Brahmin clerks under him in 1894 had become 60 out of a total of 500 clerks. The Brahmin domination had been cut only in its fringe. But the instinct of self-interest in their caste was endowed with a sufficient provision to enable the Brahmins to anticipate the coming danger and the Vedokta agitation and its offshoots constituted the first great effort to prop up the tottering edifice of Brahmanical influence and save it from its inevitable fate.

Apart from these interested critics of this part of the Maharaja's work, there are some who find fault with the principle underlying it from a misunderstanding which it is not difficult to correct. Their contention is that such communal movements crystallise and, therefore, perpetuate communal differences. The Maharaja was a firm believer in the necessity of union among Indians. As he proved by his actual deeds, he had every wish to break the caste-system to pieces. In a memorable speech, he placed before the non-Brahmins of Bombay the splendid example of his great ancestor for inspiration and guidance in the work of breaking

the barriers of caste. He said:—"In Japan it was the Samurai caste (the Kshatriyas of the nation) who took the lead in breaking through their caste-system. We may look back to the ideals of the great Shivaji Maharaj, who belonged to the seventeenth century, for us to follow in the twentieth century. It is a matter of regret to me that the starting of the Mimansa School may result in reviving old useless ideas. These Brahmin leaders cannot be too careful to watch the modern ideals. They should not close their eyes to the example the great Shivaji has left to us. The great man admitted into the caste of the Marathas a member of the Nimbalkar family of Phaltan, who had embraced Islam and married a Mahomedan lady. With the consent of his illustrious mother, Jijabaisaheb, he gave his own daughter to the son of the Nimbalkar. This is truly a fine practical illustration of nation-building and nation-making. The only way we can show our regard, respect and reverence for this great hero of ours is to emulate his example and to walk in his footsteps. It would be a happy day for us all, when we shall all realise that the sooner we get rid of the caste restrictions, the greater will be our fitness for Home Rule."

Why should a reformer with such ideals foster communal movements of the kind we have described? How are the two ideas compatible with each other? Practical man that he was, his reason, in his own words, was this:—

"The question of the advanced classes on the one side and of the backward classes on the other has recently arisen. I am quite convinced that the caste-system has done great harm to India. Christians, Mahomedans, Buddhists, and others treat us, that is the backward classes, kindly and sympathetically and accordingly these people, though they belong to other creeds, have endeared themselves to us. In England the representatives of the capitalist could not protect the labourers as the interests of capital and labour were contrariwise. The same is the case in India. It is impossi-

ble that the advanced classes will look after the interests of the backward classes."

In explaining to Mr. M., a certain friend of his, the reason why he stopped the Hostel attached to the College, professedly designed for all classes and managed by people of the advanced castes, he wrote :—

"Since I came down here I have dispersed the Boarding Institution which was supposed to be for all classes, as I found that there was no non-Brahmin in it for nearly ten years. I have distributed the sum among the Maratha Boarding Institution, Lingayats, Jains, Mahomedans, Tailors, Mahars, Prabhus, Senoys. I wish to have another Boarding House for Goldsmiths."

If the Brahmins had but cared half as much for the education of the so-called lower castes, if they had directed their public spirit into channels which would bring education within the reach of their backward countrymen, if they could have boasted like the Buddhist priesthood of Burma that the laymen under their charge were almost wholly literate by their own efforts and almost without the help of Government, there would be no justification for the separatist tendencies of the communal awakening. The Brahmin did nothing of the kind. He lived in a world of his own, pursuing his own ends, unable to see how others fared and, worse still, hoping to base his own greatness, his inborn superiority, on the ashes of the self-respect of his so-called co-religionists.

And we may as well ask : were these communal movements really communal in spirit ? Why then did His Highness—a true Maratha—encourage and assist the Jains and the Lingayats, the Mussalmans and the Namdevs and even the Daivadnya and Saraswat Brahmins themselves ? Why did the Maratha Hostel accommodate the Mussalmans ? Why did the Maharaja entrust the Mussalman movement in its initial stages to a Maratha ? And why did the Marathas, Jains and

others combine under his leadership to help the depressed classes? If the spirit which pervaded this kind of work is sectional, it ought to be welcomed as the sure foundation of a truly national life.

CHAPTER IX.

The Kshatriyas in the Deccan.

The Kshatriyas not a caste—reasons why they fought with the Brahmins—racial or colour difference—heretical thinkers among the Kshatriyas—their pre-eminence in early days—and even that of Vaishyas—the internal feuds of the Kshatriya clans—hatred for Nandas and Mauryas—the Rajput revival, a real defeat of Kshatriyas—Dravidians introduce a new factor into the problem—some Brahmin Kshatriyas in the Deccan—Kshatriya liberalism another factor—why Brahmins denied Kshatriyahood to Shivaji—justification for his claims—an explanation of the Brahmin attitude—Deccan more non-Vedic—jealousy the root cause—the wide range of the Kshatriya movement frightened the Brahmins—the history of the question during succeeding years—meaning of the Vedokta Controversy—Its history up to 1901.

A BRIEF *résumé* of the composition of the Kshatriya communities or castes in India will enable the reader to understand at least one, and that not the least important, aspect of the question which the Vedokta controversy sought to settle in Kolhapur. The claims of certain castes to the status of Kshatriyaship ought not in theory to be a caste question at all. The impression which prevails in many quarters and which is largely responsible for the wrong turn which the controversy has taken, is that the term Kshatriya denotes and connotes all that a caste is. This is not true. The term, first introduced into existence in the Purusha Sukta of the Rig Veda, had no connection with the idea of a caste in Vedic times.* It is not even the description of any existing community of

* The basis of the social distinctions was relationship ; or, as the Aryans proud of their lighter colour, put it, colour. Their books constantly repeat a phrase as being common amongst the people,—and it was certainly common among the Aryan sections of the people,—which divided all the world, as they knew it, into four social grades, called colours (Varna).—Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India*, p. 53.

those days. It is a highly imaginative attempt to describe a theory of creation and to explain the broad natural classification of mankind according to occupation. The Purush Sukta had no reference to existing facts and did not even profess to classify Hindu Society according to racial distinctions. The Aryans who composed the Rig Veda knew nothing of the caste as we know it. In their days the whole Aryan people was one united race, interdining and intermarrying freely among themselves, and interchanging their professions as best suited their likings or capacity. As Prof. Rhys Davids, referring to the Varnas, says, "The three upper classes had originally been one; for the nobles and priests were merely those members of the third class, the Vessas, who had raised themselves into a higher social rank. And though more difficult probably than it had been, it was still possible for analogous changes to take place. Poor men could become nobles, and both could become Brahmans. We have numerous instances in the books, some of them unconsciously preserved even in the later priestly books which are otherwise under the spell of the caste theory. And though each case is then referred to as if it were exceptional, the fact no less remains that the line between the "Colours" was not yet strictly drawn. The members of the higher colours were not even all of them white. Some, no doubt, of the Kshatriyas were descended from the chiefs and nobles of the Dravidian and Kolarian tribes who had preserved, by conquest or by treaty, their independence or their social rank. And others of the same tribes were, from time to time, acquiring political importance, and with it an entry into a higher social grade."†

Max Muller is still more emphatic. "There is no authority whatever," he says, "in the hymns of the Vedas for the complicated system of castes, no authority for the offensive

† "*Buddhist India*", p. 55.

privileges claimed by the Brahmans, no authority for the degraded position of the Sudras."‡ Barnett, another great authority, supports the same view when he says of the Purusha Sukta :

"Here we have the earliest exposition of the Brahman theory of caste ; and it may be asked how far this theory corresponds with the real condition of the society portrayed in the Rig Veda. Actually we find that the four sections—Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras—were not separated by any rigid line of racial demarcation ; they were rather social divisions, fortified by a somewhat fluid religious sanction that was by no means universally recognised, and their boundaries were constantly fluctuating. At no time were the sections strictly endogamous, or limited to the functions theoretically assigned to them."§

The process which ended in crystallising Hindu India into castes was a long one and began probably much later than the days of the first Veda. Had the Aryans been the only people, at any rate the only powerful people, in India there is no doubt that the fierce and sanguinary struggle which took place between the Brahmins and Kshatriyas would never have marred the relations of these two classes. But they were not the only people in India who could hold their own. Their settlement in the plains of the Punjab and the western parts of the United Provinces was followed by the invasions of many other races, more vigorous than they on the field of battle, although it may readily be admitted that all of them were not equally gifted with speculative minds. The Greeks came first and left a few, though not very large, colonies in the Punjab. The Sakas were the next to invade. Unlike the Greeks, they settled in large numbers on the plains of Hindustan and were amalgamated with the Hindu population as a whole. By descent they were

‡ Chips from a German Workshop II, 311.

§ Antiquities of India, p. 132.

very probably Mongolians and gave India two of her most famous dynasties, the Nandas and the Mauryas. Another Chinese race, the Yueh-chi, followed the Sakas. Kanishka was the most eminent of the Kshatriyas or rulers that this new race gave to this country. Iranian races also sent in their hordes to what we now call Kathiawar and the adjoining country. The Maitraka kings of Saurashtra belonged to the Iranian race. The various races who next came through the passes of the Hindukush are vaguely described under the name of the Huns. The Rajput clans and the Gurjars were the most prominent of them. This is not all. India received fresh additions of warriors from the defiles of the Himalayas both on the Tibetan and the Nepal sides. The Kshatriyas who gave birth to the Jain prophet Mahaveer, and the Buddhist prophet Gautama,—the Lachchavis and the Sakyas—derived their origin from them.* In the South, the Dravidian people had neither caste nor Varna. But they had, all the same, kings and warriors of whom the most powerful were the Andhras, the Kerelas or Cheras, the Cholas and the Pandyas,—and earlier still, the Pundras, Mutibas, Pulindas and Shabaras—who had every claim to be classed as Kshatriyas but who did not have any connection with the developments of the natural classification into contending communities or castes in Northern India. Assuming that these clans were racially one, there is no doubt whatever that they did not belong to any of the stocks referred to above and they looked upon the Aryans who came to the Daxina or the Deccan as an alien people. To this day, the Kannad section of the Dravidian race call

* The Vedic dislike of the Magadh people, according to Prof. Keith, must have been due to "the imperfect Brahmanisation of the land and the predominance of aboriginal blood, which later in history rendered Magadha the headquarters of Buddhism." And again, "like the Rajputs, they (people living in South-Himalayan Provinces) were conquerors ruling in the midst of subject peoples; and as Dr. V. Smith has suggested, many of these clans may have been of Tibeto-Chinese origin. It is possible that the Shishunagas and Nandas may have been the descendants of mountain chieftains, etc."

the Marathas Aryar which suggests that the Maratha people were Aryans who when they colonised in the Dravidian South were outsiders.*

These facts prove beyond dispute that the obvious assumption underlying the theory is wrong—the theory, I mean, of those who claim that all those who fought in later times with the Brahmins to establish their claim to the honours of Kshatriyaship belonged to the Kshatriya Varna of the very early Aryan period,— the warriors who composed the older hymns of the Rig Veda and could therefore trace their descent to the original Aryan settlers in the land of the Five Rivers. The invariable attempt of modern Hindu Kshatriyas to carry their genealogy right up to the Sun or the Moon and establish their kinship to Rama or Dharma of the Ramayan or Maha-Bharat is not wholly justifiable.† One reason for holding this view is that according to the judgment of modern critical study of the Epic Literature of India, the story of the Lunar Race embodied in the immortal work of Valmiki has no foundation in fact. A still stronger reason is that the link which is admittedly supposed to connect the present day Kshatriyas to the Sun and the Moon, the Rajput clans of Udepur and Jodhpur, is not itself of purely, or even predominantly, Aryan origin.

* The first Aryan invasion of the Daxina cannot be earlier than the 7th century B.C., and for centuries thereafter, it could not have been much below the Godavari. Nor could it be said that these Southern warriors could be anything but pre-eminently Dravidian though it may be admitted that they had received some Aryan accretions about the first two centuries prior to Christ. "The Andhras and other tribes mentioned in the Aitereya Brahmana as outcasts, were still Dravidian in blood and speech though Munda speaking tribes may have been mingled with them as the name Shahara suggests. The Aryas too may have been comparatively little affected by the influence of the Aryan culture."—Prof. Keith in the Cambridge History of India.

† Compare what Prof. V. A. Smith says about the Chalukyas:—"The statements in the latter Chalukya inscriptions, which profess to trace back the clan to its origin in Ajodhya, and provide the royal family with an orthodox mythological pedigree, are of no historical value. There is some reason for believing that the Chalukyas or Solankis were connected with Chapas, and so with the foreign Gurjara tribe of which the Chapas were a branch and it seems to be probable that they emigrated from Rajaputana to the Deccan."—Early History of India, p. 382.

Arguing *a priori*, one may rightly doubt the possibility of the controversy about the status of Kshatriyas assuming the bloody form which it did, if the two parties, the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas, had indisputably been the members of one racially homogeneous community. There is ample evidence to show that the differences in diet—introduced into India by the teachings of Mahaveer and Gautama Buddha—did not separate the epic Brahmins from the epic Kshatriyas. For a time, as the Pauranic stories tell us, a single individual could be simultaneously or successively be both. For a long time, and probably even after the Civil War between them began, the rival communities freely interdined and intermarried. From conditions like these, how could a state of society grow in which it became necessary for the triumphant Brahmin to deny altogether the existence of the Kshatriyas in this Yuga ? How could the Brahmin put forth the story of Parshuram having exterminated the Kshatriyas twenty-one times or of the Kshatriyas being extinct after the Nandas who ruled three or four centuries before Christ? History shows beyond the shadow of a doubt that numerous warrior clans and races devoted all their martial qualities to the protection of Hinduism even after it gave the Brahmins an unquestionably first place in the Hindu social system. How could the Brahmins shut their eyes to such facts and assert with an audacity and obstinacy which are simply surprising to the modern mind that all Hindus except themselves are members of the degraded Sudra Class ? The answer must be sought in the history of the Kshatriya or warrior class of India, which is, as I have shown above, composed of more than one non-Aryan peoples.

Early in their Indian career, the Vedic Aryans came in contact with the ruling clans of Behar and adjoining country who probably had considerable affinity with the Tibetan and Nepalese people and who had developed a much higher civilization than that of the Dasyus and Nagas, the abori-

ginal peoples whom the Aryans easily conquered and drove to the jungles. These clans had therefore to be amalgamated with the Aryan society. The process involved the acceptance of ideas which were entirely alien to the Vedic civilization. Jainism and Buddhism and many other less powerful and therefore forgotten theories of life and religion owed their existence principally to these extra-Aryan people. Brahmanism has claimed that its reduction of the aboriginal Anaryas to Shudrahood was the only alternative—and a humane alternative—to the course which the European settlers in America adopted in their dealings with the Red Indians. But it had also to deal with more virile peoples who were either already in India when the Vedic Aryans came or who followed them in succession for many centuries. People of Chinese, Turkish, Greek, Iranian and other descents could not be treated as the aboriginals were treated. They had therefore to be admitted to the Hindu fold on some terms or other. In the necessity which thus arose to find a solution for the problem of races or tribes which could not be conquered, we may find an explanation of the peculiar persistency with which the Kshatriya controversy was carried on from century to century. Mr. Pargiter has shown what the inner meaning of the Vashista-Vishwamitra quarrel was. Th· claim of Parusharam to have extirpated the Kshatriyas several times over and the counterclaim of Subhooma, the son of Kritveerya, to have exterminated the Brahmins as many times, only mean that the struggle between the two classes continued for a long time with unabated fury, each side boasting that the other side had been worsted. In this struggle, the Brahmin fought with the weapons of his priestcraft more than with anything else. And they were not weapons to be lightly treated by the Kshatriyas. By this time, the simplicity of the Rigvedic worship had given place to the elaborate, complex and mystic ritual of the Yajurveda which in its turn cleared the way for the superstitions of

the Puranas. Armed with a priest-craft consisting of all these elements and with a mental acumen which was the result of exclusive and concentrated intellectual pursuits, the Brahmins defied the tribes claiming the dignities of Kshatriyahood from generation to generation. The independence of thought which characterised the Kshatriya thinkers—both within the fold of the Vedic religion like Janak, Angeeras, Vishwamitra, Bhrigu, Kanva, Vamadeva, Bharadwaja and others, and without it, like the founders of the heretical Jainism and Buddhism—and their natural unwillingness to support the Brahmins in their attempt to hold Hindu society under their spiritual sway, made the Kshatriyas always odious to the Brahmins. The same phenomenon may be explained by the fact that the Kshatriyas occupied the first place in Hindu society as it existed in Vedic times and this gave rise to much heart-burning among the Brahmins who used every means in their power to degrade their rivals. In the older days, " at the head (of the Aryan society) were the Kshatriyas, the nobles who claimed descent from the leaders of the Aryan tribes in their invasion of the continent . . . . Then came the Brahmins claiming descent from the sacrificing priests." To use the words of the same authority, Dr. Rhys Davids, " This was the natural relation between the two, as we find throughout the world." Nor was this all. Even some of the Vaishyas claimed and exercised superior authority in religious matters and, in such cases, their status was higher than that of priests. As Prof. Havell observes in his History of Aryan Rule in India (p. 128)—

" It is significant that craftsmen are always closely associated with religious propaganda in the Buddhist and Brahmanical history, as they are in that of the Christianity. The *stapathi*, or master builder, is described in the Shilpashastras as officiating at the religious ceremonies which preceded the laying out of the Indo-Aryan town or village and

some of the metal workers and carpenters of Southern India still retain as their caste distinction the name Acharya which denotes a teacher of religion."

This is why the Brahmins have continued to be always jealous of the two classes, the Kshatriya and Vaishya. The growth of mystic ritualism and the perpetual internal feuds of the Kshatriya tribes among themselves which continued for a long time until the days of Ashoka and Chandragupta and even thereafter with a few intervening periods in which a warrior of outstanding abilities reduced the rest to a temporary allegiance, facilitated the work of the Brahmins. When all these weapons failed, as they often did against an armed foe, the device suggested by the so-called Laws of Manu was adopted and alien warriors like the Persians and Dards were admitted to be Kshatriyas, "who had sunk to the conditions of Sudras by reason of their neglect of sacred rites and their failure to consult Brahmins."

The opponents of the warrior class to this day claim that the Kshatriya class disappeared with the Nanda dynasty. The Brahmin Chanakya was the sworn enemy of that House, probably because the Mongolian blood coursed in the Nanda veins and they largely supported the heterodox doctrines of the Jain and Buddhist churches. The Mauryas who took their place sprang in fact from the Nandas, but the Brahmins preferred them for the simple reason that Chandragupta Maurya, being born of a low-born Queen of the last Nanda King, his family could conveniently be classed with Sudras who could not, therefore, dispute the Brahminical supremacy in Hindu society as the Magadhan aristocracy, of which the Nandas were members, had so successfully done. The Mauryas were, however, no more friendly to Brahminical ambitions than were the Nandas. Blood was thicker than water and the kings of the Maurya dynasty like its founder Chandragupta and its glory, the Emperor Asoka, gave Brahminism some of the deadliest blows it ever received. This was ample reason

for the Brahmin to say that the true Kshatriyas' line closed with the hated Nandas and the Mauryan kings were the worst imaginable Sudras. The Guptas who succeeded next to the sceptre of imperial authority in central Hindustan were more favourable to Brahmins. But Malwa, Gujarath and Kathiawar were still under the sway of non-Aryan Sakas and though Hinduism—a compromise between Brahminism on the one hand and the heresies on the other—gained considerable ground during the following centuries, the Brahminsm never completely acquiesced in the endeavours of all warriors to attain Kshatriyaship until about the eighth century of the Christian era when the Rajput clans succeeded in getting their Kshatriyahood recognised by the Brahmins by giving up once for all the older claims to equality with, if not superiority to, Brahmins whose first place was now willingly admitted in the Hindu hierarchy. For a time the rivalries seem to close with this revival of the Kshatriyas. Which of the two sides had the laurels of victory on its side ? A somewhat long quotation from one of Vincent Smith's admirable books will throw considerable light on this question. He says :—" The term Rajput, as applied to a social group, has no concern with race, meaning descent or relationship by blood. It merely denotes a tribe, clan, sect, or caste of warlike habits, the members of which claimed aristocratic rank, and were treated by the Brahmins as representing the Kshatriyas of the old books. The huge group of Rajput-clan-castes includes people of the most diverse descent. Many of the clans are descended from the foreigners who entered India during the fifth and sixth centuries, while many others are descended from indigenous tribes now represented, so far as the majority of their members is concerned, either by semi-Hinduized people or by inferior castes.

" Probably it would be safe to affirm that all the most distinguished clan-castes of Rajputana or Rajastan are

descended mainly from foreigners, the 'Scythians' of Tod. The upper ranks of the invading hordes of Hunas, Gurjaras, Maitrakas, and the rest became Rajput clans, while the lower developed into Hindu castes of less honourable social status such as Gujars, Ahirs, Jats and others.

"Such clan-castes of foreign descent are the proud and chivalrous Sisodias or Guhilots of Mewar, the Parihars (Pratiharas), the Chalukyas otherwise called Solankis.

"The Rashtrakutas of the Deccan, the Rathors of Rajputana, whose name is only a vernacular form of the same designation: the Chandels and the Bundelas of Bundelkhand are examples of ennobled indigenous peoples. The Chandels evidently originated from among the Gonds, who again were closely associated with the Bhars. It is impossible to pursue further the subject, which admits of endless illustration."

That the mediæval Rajputs were partly at least non-Aryan and foreign may readily be admitted. But the view that many of them came into India in the fifth or sixth century A.D. must be modified in the light of the fact that even before the invasion of India by Alexander the Great, there were Kshatriyas in India who called themselves Rajputs. Thus—

"These communities were military clans or groups of clans: and they were governed sometimes by kings, but more often by tribal oligarchies. They were Kshatriyas: but by this name, the common designation of them all, they are known to the historians of Alexander the Great, in two districts in the north of the Punjab, to the east of the Ravi (p. 371) and in the south-west where the Indus and the Sutlej meet (Xathri, p. 76). They were the ancestors of the Rajputs who played a most important part in the history of Northern India at a later date, and their coins are found

throughout the regions to which modern ethnologists trace the origin of the Rajputs."*

The Rajputs thus established their claim to a definite place in society, the highest place with the Brahmins alone excepted. The Brahmins apparently gave up their absurd contentions based on no better authority than that of texts and legends of their own making, that their whilom rivals had been stamped out two dozen times or that the Nandas were the last of the Kshatriya order. But the great advantage which the Brahmins won in this long drawn struggle was that the Kshatriyas henceforth were but the shadows of their namesakes in the Vedic or even the Epic Age. Intellectual and spiritual sparks were no more to be met with in the steel frame, because they henceforth became mere military machines possessing all the power of the old era but woefully lacking in the higher qualities of well trained minds.

In the Deccan, to which we must now turn, the existence of Dravidian warrior tribes side by side with the northern Kshatriyas who settled in the various parts of the peninsula, introduced a new complication in the situation. Their true place, it must have been thought, was wholly outside the pale of the Aryan system. Like the Kanva and Sung Rajas of ancient times or the rulers of Ujjain and Joghoti noticed by Huen Tsang, the Kadambas of Mysore were Brahmins playing the role of Kshatriyas in this part of the country during mediæval times. This must have been one

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* Cambridge History of India, Vol. I., p. 528. The last word on the subject is not yet said. But Havell is probably nearer the truth than any one else when he says :—"The claims to Aryan ancestry of some of these fighting clans might be difficult to prove to the satisfaction of the ethnologist . . . But they were all united in devotion to Aryan traditions and only Aryan honour and acknowledged claims to descent from Aryan heroes gave precedence in their order of nobilty. Many of these fighting clans were Aryanised . . . through their Aryan wives won in war with the Indo-Aryan tribes. . . . Thus the claims to Aryan ancestry of some modern Rajput tribes may not be so illusory as they are reckoned by scientific investigators."—*Aryan Rule in India*, p. 260—261.

more reason for the Brahmins to refuse to allow other ruling tribes a status which the Brahman Kadambas had accepted for themselves. A third reason of almost universal application was that the Kshatriyas of all these centuries, more particularly in the Deccan, tried to conciliate their subjects by adopting a policy of active liberalism towards all forms of religion. Very frequently in the course of the history of the Deccan, we come across kings who are claimed by many contending sects and faiths as belonging to their own ranks. The population consists of sturdier and braver people than elsewhere and the wise policy for the rulers was to extend their patronage equally to rival faiths. This enlightened tolerance on the part of the Deccan Kshatriyas seems to have cost them their popularity with the Brahmins who attributed this laxity of conduct to the fallen character of the ruling order.

Since the formation of the Rajput tribes, the question about the social status of the ruling class does not seem to have arisen until Shivaji, the founder of the Mahratta nation, had made up his mind to ascend in all solemnity the throne of royalty which had already become his by the right of his valour and statesmanship. The credit for the upheaval of Shivaji's days is claimed by the Brahmin followers of Shivaji as much as by any other caste in the Deccan. In view of the part which they claim to have played in the events leading up to the enthronement of Shivaji, it is surprising, if not distressing, to find that they as a class arrayed themselves against the warriors, led by Shivaji, who had won liberty for Hinduism and had given the Brahmins all the honours and advantages, temporal as well as spiritual, which they could wish for. A more devout Hindu than Shivaji could not have been conceived even in those days of piety and faith. Nor were the claims of Shivaji's race to Dwijaship based on unsatisfactory evidence. On the side of his mother, Shivaji was directly connected with the Yadavas of Deogiri

(modern Aurangabad) through what later on became the Jadhava family in which Jijabai was born. On the side of his father, the Bhosales belonged to the Shisodias of Udaipur whose Kshatriyaship was as indisputable as anything could possibly be. The Chalukyas who ruled the Mahratta country at least since the days they founded their kingdom at Vatapi (Badami in the Bijapur District), the Kadambas of Banavasi who ruled over the South Konkan tract, the Rashtrakutas (also called Rattas or Lattas) of an indigenous origin who exercised authority over the Maharashtra country after defeating the earlier Chalukyas and after two centuries were themselves defeated by the second Chalukya dynasty of Kalyani, the Shilaharas of Kolhapur, the Pallavas of further south, the Powars of Malwa, the Mores who traced their origin to the Maurya dynasty—these and many others of a similar history formed part of the people out of which Shivaji grew. There is hardly any doubt that these warriors belonged to a race which had absorbed in it through the course of many centuries numerous tribes of Aryan as well as non-Aryan origin. This, however, was no reason why the Brahmins of Shivaji's court should have fallen victims to the temptation of denying the great defender of the Hindu religion the ritual of the Vedas. The Rajput clans were admittedly Kshatriyas. For a long succession of centuries, they had been willingly accorded the privileges of Kshatriyaship by the Brahmins of India who even got for them genealogies reaching right up to Rama and Krishna. Even during the Mussalman domination of the Deccan, the warlike families that now clustered round Shivaji wielded a political influence and followed martial professions which justified their claim to Vedic rites. The Ghatges—the family to which Shri Shahu Chhatrapati belonged by birth—were distinguished soldiers in the fourteenth century. The Bhosales—whom Shivaji raised to the glorious position of Chhatrapatis—were king-makers in the Mahomedan Courts of Ahmednagar and Bija-

pur. The very word 'Mahratta' which denoted the caste and nationality of Shivaji was derived from an ancient word which meant a Kshatriya. Ashoka's inscriptions refer to Rashtrikas as a border people ruling the present Mahratta country. The cave-inscriptions of Nanaghat refer to King Shatkarni of the Andhra race as having Naganika as his queen and this queen is described as a 'Maharathi,' the daughter of a "Rashtrika king" or Maharashtra corrupted into Maharathi. This was a century or two before the Christian era. Barnett mentions a Tamil tradition of a very ancient date which includes in the Panchdravidam Maharashtra as well as Gujerat, Maharashtra of course being the land of Maharashtri (Maharatti) kings, who seem to have obliterated the Dravidian language from their country when Aryan influences got the better of the Dravidian in later centuries. The Rattas and Rashtrakutas who were rulers of Maharashtra after the Andhras also form one element in the present Mahratta community. With a history and surroundings like these, why did the Brahmins of the Deccan take this apparently unreasonable attitude? I have suggested above some of the probable considerations which must have weighed with the Brahmins. But the answer will not be complete unless we take a brief account of the Brahmanical frame of mind as it then was in the Deccan. With all his faults, the Vedic Brahmin was a limb of the body politic ready to assimilate new blood and adapt himself to the changing environments in which he was placed. His successor in the North, though tending to be more rigid and exclusive, still retained the original traits of his ancestor as he had for his very existence to accommodate himself to the endless alien hordes that came to stay by his side. In the Deccan, however, foreign invaders (including the Mussalmans) never obtained the same strong foothold as they obtained in Hindustan and the process of amalgamation with new people was not so easy. Unlike the invaders from the North-West,

the Dravidian peoples who formed a portion, and a large portion, of the Deccan inhabitants were themselves more exclusive than the Brahmins who were in the beginning at any rate an expanding race. Having come in contact with the purely Dravidian tribes of the Southerners, the Brahmins of the Deccan became even more exclusive than they. Hindu religion in the Deccan lost a great deal of its Vedic character and resembled more the non-Aryan theology and worship of the Dravidian people. The Hindu worship especially from the middle ages (which cover about four or five centuries with the tenth century as their centre) had little in common with the Vedic religion. The teachings of Ramanuja and Shankar gave Hinduism a new turn very much different from the genuine character of the Vedic religion. The masses of the Deccan were stirred by spiritual forces which owed their birth and strength to non-Brahmin saints and teachers with whom the Brahmins had little in common. Shivaji himself drew all his inspiration from a non-Vedic Goddess. The state of society which these facts indicated drove the religious Brahmin of the Deccan to a world of his own, a narrow and small world no doubt, but a world from which he could profess to look down upon the non-Brahmin world with feelings of ill-concealed contempt. Shivaji, they said, was a brave man; but he owed his success to the blessings of the Brahmin Gurus, Ramdas. All his bravery did not give him a right to a status which very nearly approached that of the Brahmin. If Shivaji worshipped the Brahmin and professed to have undertaken his adventures in defence of the Brahmin, it was as a Sudra he did it—as a Sudra, the servant, if not the slave, of the Brahmin.

It should be noted here that until Shivaji took the decision to wear the formal crown, the Brahmins had not taken this attitude. The Marathi-Sanskrit panegyric called Radhamadhavavilas Champu published recently by a

Brahmin and sung in the presence of numerous Brahmin Pandits, describes Shahaji—the father of Shivaji—as a descendant of the Shisodia Kshatriyas. An elder brother of Shivaji who died young is said to have been annointed heir-apparent according to Kshatriya rites. This had taken place long before Shivaji's accession at Rajgad in 1674. In doing this, the poet was only treading in the footsteps of the first great Marathi poet Dnyaneshwar, who had long before extolled the Yadava (Jadhava) kings of Deogiri as the ornaments of the Kshatriya race, unquestionably, in the Maharashtra. The Brahmin opposition to Vedic ceremonies in that year becomes therefore all the more perplexing. But the very high position which Shivaji attained with the assistane of his Maratha followers was taken to be a more serious threat to the ascendancy of the Brahmin community than all the exploits of Shivaji, who after all had never openly claimed independent sovereignty. Jealousy might then be the probable cause of the change of front in the year of Shivaji's accession. It might also be that the warriors who rendered such signal help to Shivaji in his great work also aspired to the same social dignity as their leader. The Prabhus seem to have striven hard to assert their own claims to it. There is ample evidence of this, so much so that being unable to vent their wrath against the powerful Chhatrapati, the Brahmins accused the Kayasth Prabhus of being actuated by a selfish desire to further their own communal interests by instigating Shivaji to seek the honours of the Vedic ceremonial. A movement like this, so widespread and so far-reaching in its social consequences, was more likely to arouse opposition from the jealous Brahmin than it was likely for the individual ambition of Shivaji in the same direction to necessitate resistance.

The story of Gagabhatta of the sacred city of Benares need not be told here. The northern Brahmin was accustomed to Kshatriya surroundings and that Pandit found

no difficulty in according to Shivaji the honours due to his rightful rank. The ready acceptance of Shivaji's pedigree connecting him with the Shisodias by the Rana of Udaipur himself made the way clear for Gagabhatta. The Brahmins of the Deccan did not take the right clue from this incident. Even after this failure to prevent the Vedokta formalities being observed at Shivaji's coronation, the Brahmins seem to have carried on their independent campaign against the rising ambitions of the martial classes to assert their own social rights. We find Shivaji in the third year of his accession (A. D. 1777) issuing a firman assuring the Prabhus, the Vaishyas, the Jamedars, the Vatandars and the ryots that the traditional rights of all communities obstructed for a time by the invasion of the Deccan by the Mussalmans, would be restored to them under Shivaji's authority. "The communities," continues the order, "which have a right to Vedokta ritual but whose right has been overlooked on account of either the Mussalman rule or their hatred by the Brahmins should now find out their own practices and observe them properly . . . . . . If any Brahmin sets up quarrels against the Shatras on account of his hatred for others or his greed for money, the community concerned should apply to Sarkar." The firman concludes by appealing to all communities to unite for the purpose of resisting the Mussalmans coming from the north, which clearly shows that the Mahratta nation as a whole was at this time aroused to a sense of its own dignity and was impelled to rebel against the iniquitous treatment which Brahmins were wont to accord to them. The quarrels thus arising, it seems, even threatened to come in the way of a concerted attempt on Shivaji's part to meet his enemies from Delhi. After this fruitless attempt to stem the tide, they however found that their folly had cost them at least a lakh of rupees which was the Daxina (present) paid by the newly crowned king of Maharashtra to his temporary Purohit. They hastened therefore to rectify the mistake

by consenting thereafter to perform the usual Vedokta ritual in the royal household of Shivaji. When Tarabai, the masterful Rani of Rajaram, proposed to celebrate the Upanayana (thread ceremony) of her son Shivaji, Ramchandrapant Amatya tried to persuade her to wait till Shahu returned from captivity. Tarabai was, however, too shrewd for the tricks of the Brahmin. She refused therefore to be guided by such advice and had her son invested with the sacred thread according to due rites. On his death-bed, Shahu gave an unmistakable proof of his kinsmanship with the Shisodias by inviting the Ranaji of Udaipur to send his young son to Satara for being adopted to succeed Shahu on the Throne of the Mahratta Empire. When Shahu died, Brahminical influence became all powerful and an opportunity for degrading the Chatrapatis at Satara came handy to Nana Phadnavis, who soon found it possible to send his congratulations to his unscrupulous tool, one Baburao Krishna, on having successfully brought the mother of Shahu II to consent to the thread ceremony of her son according to the forms allowable to a Sudra. Shahu's son Pratapasinha Maharaja—the last of his race to occupy the Throne of Satara—had early in his life suffered heavily at the hands of the last Peshwa who had commenced the process of humiliating the King by seating him on the Gadi in 1708 without allowing him to go through the usual thread ceremony and thus proclaiming him to be a Sudra and nothing more and who had directed the watchmen of the Fort of Vasota in which the young nominal head of the Marathas was kept in dreary captivity that the Chhatrapati should be slain in the event of the fall of the Fort into the hands of the English. It is said that the Peshwa had taken every care to see that the Prince Pratap should remain a perfectly illiterate boy and that the Queen Mother had therefore to teach him to read and write in the dead of night when the Peshwa's men would lie asleep. No wonder then that he readily signed the proclamation dismissing

the Peshwa from his office which was issued in his name by the British, who released him from a tormenting captivity.

The end of the Peshwa rule in 1818, thus accepted by Chhatrapati Pratap Sinhaji, should have, but unfortunately did not, put a stop to the bitter controversy. Appasaheb, the Chief of Sangli, was the biggest man among the Chitpawan Brahmins after the Peshwas and he took the lead along with one Natu of Poona and a Shastri by name Thatte in carrying forward the unholy work of reducing the ambitious Hindu communities like the Marathas, the Prabhus, the Yajurvedi Brahmins, the Daivadnya Brahmins of the five kinds; the Arya Kshatriyas or Jingars and others to the level of Sudras and, in some cases, to that of the untouchables. The threads of this plot, the foundations of which were laid by the Brahmins in the days of their political ascendancy, may easily be traced right up to the day on which the Vedokta controversy was opened in Kolhapur in 1902, if not the year before, and they could easily be detected in the events which followed and are still taking place in Maharashtra. To those who cannot feel the under-currents of social and political life in the Deccan of days gone by and of to-day, the question at issue seems so simple and so small that they may readily feel tempted to look upon both sides in the dispute as childish, if nothing worse. If the Brahmin community were to realise how ridiculous they make themselves by challenging the status of the actual ruling chiefs as members of a ruling class and were ready to take a larger view of a social life in Hindu society, they would at once agree with the view of these superficial observers. If, again the Kshatriyas could, as Shri Shahu Chhatrapati long after 1902 did, take a firm stand in social and religious matters and leave the priesthood to rot in its own meanness, they too would find it easy to wash their hands clean of this controversy. But the Brahmins as a whole have still shut their eyes to simple facts and even to-day live in the dreamland of the Peshwas, who started

the controversy with new vigour with a political purpose of the deepest significance in view. Nor have the Dwija classes in the Deccan—and for the matter of that, in the whole of India—yet become alive to the need of intellectual and spiritual emancipation from the dominance of a caste. The controversy therefore still goes on.

Before taking up the threads of the Vedokta story at Kolhapur in 1902, I must explain a little further the purpose which the priestocracy in Poona wished to accomplish through this controversy. The Shivaji's firman of 1677, referred to above, pointed out that the Brahmins were not ready to satisfy the demands made in various quarters for a new social status and a new aspiration in the masses of the Maharashtra for a higher social life. Various causes, racial and political, kept these communities bound down to ideas of life which deprived life itself of most of its charms during many centuries but more especially during the days of Mahomedan rule. The teachings of the non-Brahmin Sadhus and of a few better minds among the Deshastha Brahmins like Dnyanadeva, Nivratti, Sopan and Muktabai—themselves the direct result of the popular spiritual movements started by protestant Kshtriyas of older days—partly led to the political awakening which found such eloquent and lasting expression in the exploits of Shivaji and partly found a more favourable atmosphere for their own growth in the results of Shivaji's labours. The liberty which Shivaji gave to his nation was not the reward of merely military successes. It was one among the many results which the awakened intellectualism and spirituality of these teachings was bound to produce. The various castes which had fought under Shivaji's banners, nay, the whole population of Maharashtra which had been deeply stirred by the impulse thus given to its mind, hailed Shivaji's Swarajya with delight as the one, long-sought opportunity for realising into the forms of social and religious life the aspirations for higher manhood which had now begun to spread

in all directions. The Brahmins resisted the poet-saints as they had resisted the heresies of an older era, in the work of emancipation which they had set for themselves. When Shivaji wanted to formalise by the mere observance of a ritual what he had fully accomplished by dint of his statesmanship and with the help of the awakened nation around him, they again resisted, but this time it was only the formality which they resisted and could not therefore achieve their object. But they tried even a third time to foil all others, if not Shivaji himself, in their attempt to make the best of the new Swarajya for the purification of social life and religious ideals. The Prabhus were the first victims of the Brahmanical campaign against the awakened soul of the Maharashtra people. They were the first, because, barring the Maratha warriors, they were the first among Shivaji's non-Brahmin followers, who wished to reap a full harvest in the Swarajya. Shivaji tried to nip this mischievous campaign in the bud. But the rise of the Brahmins to power, a generation after Shivaji's death —the interval was devoted to repel the onslaughts of Aurangzebe—gave the Brahmin intrigue a new lease of life, a life which became fiercer than ever before.

The Prabhus unfortunately started their career with the ban of inferiority on their caste. The Deshastha Brahmins and the Karhadas treated the Peshwa's caste with contempt and refused to interdine with them. Even during the days of the earlier Peshwas, they hesitated to admit the Chitpawans to social equality. Bajirao himself was refused permission to bathe on a Brahmin Ghat of the Godavari at Nasik. To this day, no Chitpawan has been raised to the headship of any monastery (or Matha) in India. It is probable that all this was due to the true or alleged origin of the caste from an entirely alien race. I am only concerned here with the probable reaction of the universal contempt with which the Chitpawans were looked upon by the other castes about them. With all the ultra-zeal and bigotry of new converts to an old

faith—out-Heroding Herod himself—the Chitpawans set themselves the task of usurping the political and social authority of the Mahratta nation. Like all true Kshatriyas, Shivaji and his successors exercised the highest power in socio-religious matters. The Brahmin wanted to wrest these powers from their hands, and use them to put down their opponents and establish their own claims to those powers. With what success they did so in the realm of politics, it is needless to say at this place. The part which they wished to play in other directions, namely, the social and religious organisation of the people, was determined by the necessity which they felt themselves to be under for the purpose of perpetuating their hold on the Empire. The influence of Chhatrapatis as the patriarchs of the Mahratta nation was an organic fact and its destruction in any one direction could not have been complete and durable without its being all-sided. It would have been dangerous to their political supremacy to leave the position of the Bhosales as the leaders of their people unimpaired. It would have been equally dangerous to them if they had left the rising communities like that of the Prabhus in a position which evoked anything but contempt. The Chitpawans were nothing if not thorough in their methods. Even the non-Chitpawan Brahmin found no mercy from them. The Deshastha Brahmins who officiated as the priests of the Konkan Hindus had to be ousted from their position as much because they proclaimed the Chitpawans to be low born as because their Vrittis had to be appropriated to the Chitpawans. The Pingales, who were hitherto the Peshwas, belonged to this community and this was the more reason why their successors of the Chitpawan caste should persecute their caste for calling itself a Brahmin community. A similar attempt to displace the Karhada Brahmins was made by the Chitpawans in Sawantwadi ; but the Raja of the place did not encourage them. An appeal was addressed on their behalf by the powerful Patwardhans

of Miraj to the Peshwa, "the protector of the Brahmin," and the "master of the earth to the ends of the ocean." The long story of persecution suffered by the Daivadnya Brahmins, beginning with the regime of Bajirao I, is yet another proof of the dogged efforts made by the Chitpawans to be exclusively called Brahmins and to lump together the rest of the Hindu world under the title of Sudras. Another unfortunate community which had the audacity to claim Kshatriyaship was condemned to pariaship for the only fault of being self-assertive and prosperous. The same old rule, the policy of giving the dog a bad name and then hanging it, was followed in each case as it came on. The common goal of all these activities was to lay the foundations of their manifold authority deep and broad and make the edifice of their priestdom complete and everlasting, to broadbase their newly won political ascendancy on an equally thorough moral conquest—to coat the bitter pill of their treacherous usurpation with the sugar of a socio-spiritual victory, and to lend to their ugly career the enticing colours of a divinely sanctioned arrangement.

Forced hitherto to live the life of a Sudra, Maharaja Pratapsinha took the earliest opportunity (in 1819-20) of setting the doubts of the Brahmins regarding the status of the Maratha aristocracy at rest by obtaining once more the views of the Udaipur Ranaji on the question. Chatursingh Bhosale was deputed for the purpose. Armed with an introduction from the Resident at Satara, the deputation discussed the question with the Rana who assured it that a discussion of the history of the question was unnecessary for the simple reason that the relationship of the Bhosales with the Shisodias was already a settled fact. Tod, the great historian of the Rajput race, was in India about this time and confirms this account of the kinsmanship of these two branches of the Solar Kshatriya Race. Not satisfied with this, the then Chief of Sangli and his Brahmin colleagues in

arms against the Kshatriyas continued their unholy war against the Maratha and Prabhu castes together, with the result that both these communities resolved in their caste-meetings at Satara—held obviously under the auspices of the Maharajasaheb—to dispense with the services of the Daxini Brahmins in religious matters. The Prabhus preferred the more manful course of ministering to their spiritual needs all by themselves. But the Maratha families did not go so far and decided to import Brahmins from Gujarat and Rajputana as substitutes for the recalcitrant Brahmins of Maharashtra. These threats seem to have softened the obdurate Brahmins a little and the threats held out do not seem to have materialised at that time. The Chhatrapati however did not relax his efforts. He got the "Siddhant Vijaya" written by the Pandits in which the hollowness ot the Brahmin contentions was proved on Shastric grounds, and circulated the work—republished under the patronage of His Highness Shahu Chhatrapati in 1906—among the Shastris of the North and the South, who seem to have then accepted its conclusions as final and authoritative. They accepted not only the Chhatrapatis but their relations of the Mohite, Mahadik, Shirke, Gujar, Palkar, Ahirrao, Khanvilkar, Mane, Ghatge and Jadhav families as Kshatriyas. During the course of the enquiries then made, it was found, as the records show, that the Vedokta ritual was being observed and followed in Kolhapur in those days. This practice was however stopped sometime (probably after 1860) during the reign of His Highness Babasaheb Maharaja (1839 to 1863) at the instance of one Raghunath Shastri—an ex-convict—who ascribed the absence of a male issue to the Maharaja to the Vedokta rites in the Palace and induced the Maharaja to fall a victim to the superstitious fears thus aroused in his mind. The proud Prince Pratap was now dead and the Satara Raj had been annexed by the British Government. These incidents probably made the Maharaja an easy prey to these

subtle machinations. Gagabhatta's alleged fate soon after the coronation of Shivaji, according to the Vedokta forms, coupled with the recent misfortune which befell Satara and its spirited ruler must have been also used as cogent arguments for the discontinuance of the practice at Kolhapur. During the long period of minorities which followed Babasaheb Maharaja's death, the question could not be raised by anybody and the mischievous innovation introduced by Parwate gained a footing at Kolhapur until the attention of His Highness Shri Shahu Chhatrapati Maharaja was called to it by the force of circumstances in the latter part of 1901. We shall now consider how this situation developed by a brief reference to the incidents of 1900 and 1901 in Kolhapur.

CHAPTER X.

The Vedokta in Kolhapur.

The hereditary title of *Maharaja* conferred—the Panchaganga Ghat incident—the insulting conduct of the Brahmin priest—the first Vedokta thread ceremony—the excommunication of the priest—its sequel—the supreme power of the Kolhapur priesthood—the threats held out by the Brahmin Priests and Lodge—the forfeiture of the grants to the Royal Priest—attempts to intimidate H. H.—the agitation against the resumption—the G.C.V.O. conferred—the P.A.'s decision—the close of the controversy.

IT was very fortunate for His Highness the Maharajasaheb that the Bombay Government as a whole fully appreciated the excellent work he was doing amidst difficulties of a serious character. As a recognition of this work, Her Majesty the Queen Empress was pleased on her eighty-first birthday (May 24, 1900) to confer upon His Highness and his family the title of "Maharaja" as the hereditary designation of the rulers of Kolhapur. The people of Kolhapur were so delighted over this honour conferred on their Chhatrapatis that they presented an address to His Highness on the very same day and feasted about eight thousand poor people on the banks of the Panchaganga. This was the second great step towards the restoration to Kolhapur of a part of the prestige which it had lost by misfortune. That His Highness should have been able to achieve this success so soon after the troubles of the preceding years was a matter as much for the satisfaction of His Highness as of the people of his State.

The awakening all round, the renaissance among the non-Brahmins as it were, which the communal education movement indicated in one field could not but react upon the whole life of Kolhapur. The introduction of a substantial

number of non-Brahmins of all castes in the service of the State also contributed in no mean degree to this upheaval. About November 1900, the Brahmin-ridden Municipality of Kolhapur put up at the Ghats on the Panchaganga river notices reserving the best of them for the use of the Brahmins. But on the Ekadashi day which followed, the non-Brahmin crowd, assembled at the river for their sacred baths, defied the notice in the teeth of the Municipal authorities. The *Samarath* was not slow to record the protest of the Brahmin community against this wanton insolence of the Marathas in encroaching upon the Brahmin preserve. But the old order was changing rapidly giving place to new and nobody heeded these cries of the out-of-date monopolists.

Though to a superficial observer of the Maharaja's life, he appeared to possess many traits in common with free thinkers, he was an essentially orthodox 'religious' man in various ways. From his earliest to his last days, he performed his daily Pooja (worship) with regularity. His faith in ancestor-worship, perhaps the most natural form of religious belief, was deep and strong. Many of his nearest companions found it difficult to reconcile the two aspects of his life—his readiness to overthrow some of the most cherished superstitions of his age and his steadfast observance of religious forms in many matters which rationalism would refuse to countenance. Of the second type was his habit of visiting the usual holy places about Kolhapur on stated days for the prescribed bath in the sacred waters of the river. In the Kartika (usually October) month of 1900, His Highness used to go to the Panchaganga early in the morning for the sacred bath. Shrimant Bapusaheb Maharaj, Mamasaheb (as Babasaheb was ordinarily called) Khanvilkar and some others accompanied him. A Brahmin used to attend this party at the river to chant the sacred mantras and make the bath holy by his blessings. It was observed for some days that the priest would not bathe at that early and cold hour before reciting

the hymns as was universally supposed to be necessary. This attracted attention and when a question was put to him, he said it was not necessary for him to bathe as the persons to be blessed were mere Sudras, who had a right to the lower Pauranic blessings as distinguished from the Vedic Mantras which alone deserved a preliminary bath. One of the party came to know that this imperious Brahmin spent his nights in brothels. Among the Hindus, the belief is very strong that indulgences of this nature rendered impure the body of the person so indulging, so that others would avoid contact with him till he had washed himself completely. That their priest should treat them as Sudras, that he should deem them fit for the contemptuous treatment which was thus given, and that too by the wretch of a Brahmin who spent his nights in obscene revelries and would not care to bathe before blessing his own clients, was a thought which touched the young Maharaja and his friends to the quick and they reminded him of their being no Sudras but Kshatriyas of the purest blood. "No," said the priest, "I deny these spurious claims" and unless the all-powerful Brahmin community decided otherwise, he would never treat them as anything but Sudras. As was his wont, His Highness controlled the fury of his friends as well as his own and meekly told him that even though they might be Sudras, it would not be proper for him to do the sacred work of the priest without a bath beforehand. The fellow still would not listen. The Maharaja's arguments were not hot enough to make the Kartika morning or the waters of the Panchaganga sufficiently warm for the bath of the Brahmin. It was no business of the Sudra—the menial class man—to preach the Dharma to the priest or to find fault with his conduct, and the worthy Brahmin remained obdurate during the remainder of the month with which the baths also came to an end.

The rude shock which His Highness and his companions received by this incident aroused in them an active interest in

the Vedokta controversy. His Highness himself waited for a few months more before putting his hand to it. But the other young men included one Narayan Bhat Sevekari, a learned Brahmin priest of Kolhapur, to officiate according to the Vedokta forms at the Shravani (the thread ceremony which takes place every year) of 1901 (August 28). The Brahmavrinda (the caste punchayat of the Brahmins) in Kolhapur who claimed to be independent of the Shankaracharya Math within their own city outcasted Sevekari for the grave offence of having performed the Shravani of the Maratha youngsters according to the vedic ritual. In the succeeding month—Bhadrapad,—the Hindus perform certain rites for the satisfaction of the souls of their deceased ancestors. The Rajopadhye—'the royal priest'—avoided going to Panhala where the Maharaja's family was staying at the time, probably wishing thereby to avoid the necessity of following the Vedic forms which he thought he would be asked to adopt. In October, therefore, His Highness issued notice to him not to neglect his duties and take care that the Vedokta ritual was duly observed in the Palace. At the same time His Highness was preparing for the coming fight in all possible ways. He was making enquiries about the practice followed by the Maratha Princes elsewhere and was ascertaining the views of those who were best fitted to advise him in this connection. Nor was the opposite party inactive. The Rajopadhye was also fortifying himself by consultations with his friends and by entrenching himself behind the Brahmin community—the Brahmavrinda—who were now on the war path. "Emissaries of both the parties," says the *Samarth*, "are seen running to this town or that town far or near in search of historical *antecedents* regarding the element of discord and dispute, we mean the Vedokta movement that agitated the gentry and the priesthood of the Hindu community." Messrs. Sawant and Ingle went to Udaipur presumably to gather information. Mr. (afterwards Rao Bahadur) Dongre was on deputation at

Satara searching for the records of the Vedokta controversy in the days of His late Highness Pratapsinha Maharaja. His Highness Sir Sayajirao Maharaja of Baroda was also approached for evidence as he had some years before to deal with the same question in his own State and meet difficulties similar to those which threatened to face the Maharaja at Kolhapur*. In one of his letters to His Highness, the Maharaja Gaikwad writes on December 15, 1901, about the various movements in Kolhapur thus :—

"I shall write to the Satara gentleman and ask him to help you with papers, if he has any. You must not miss while in Europe to visit the interesting places and institutions on the Continent. Without your seeing them, you will not get the comparative knowledge of different civilizations as found in the West. I have not and will not forget the school you so nobly started. I shall wait a bit till we get into better times. I compliment you for the interest you take in our people."

While the two parties concerned directly in the controversy were thus busy, the Brahmavrinda of Kolhapur did not neglect the opportunity of asserting its own authority. The first step it took, as I have said above, was to excommunicate Mr. Sevekari. They, or to be more accurate, some fourteen wise men of the Brahmin caste ordered the Naib (Assistant) Khasgi Karbhari to reject the services of this gentleman in the Palace as he was now an out-caste. Being an unauthorised and unjustified excommunication, the presumptuous order was disregarded. There were other reasons also. This Sevekari was a highly respected Brahmin on account of the depth of his Vedic learning and was noted for his just and

* An allegation was freely made in the Press at this time involving the Maharaja Gaikwad in this controversy in Kolhapur as its chief originator. Conversations concerning a marriage alliance between his own and the Kolhapur family were said to have occasioned a suggestion from him that the latter should follow his example in adopting the Vedic ritual. There is nothing to justify any faith in this story. I mention it simply as an instance of the wild stories set afloat to ascribe the origin of the controversy to some outside agency or the other, such as the Gaikwad or British officials.

unselfish conduct. The Shravani, performed in August, was the only complaint against his conduct. It would be pertinent to mention here an incident that had already taken place about this learned man many years before 1901. He had completed the recital of the *ghana* of the Rig Veda, and, as was customary in such a case, had invited his Brahmin and Maratha patrons to be present on the last day when certain festive ceremonies were to be observed. In the course of these, he completed the recitals by repeating the last mantras of the Veda in the pesence of the Marathas. When some of the Brahmins asked for an explanation as to why he repeated the Vedas before the Marathas, he justified his conduct by saying that they were Kshatriyas and were entitled to hear the Vedas. This explanation of the learned Vaidik was accepted and nothing was said or done against him at the time. This naturally led Narayan Bhat to believe that the Kshatriya status of the Marathas was a recognized fact with the local Brahmins and he as a Vaidika need have no hesitation in officiating as a Vedic priest in such Kshatriya families as requested him to do so. The Brahmins were exasperated to find their old supremacy in danger. They had therefore thought of their old weapon of religious persecution and some fourteen of them—not very learned or influential either—presented the memorandum to His Highness through the Naib Khasgi Karbhari, calling on him to prevent Narayan Bhat and his adherents from touching the Goddess or from performing any religious duty in the Palace. The order referred to above was handed over to the Naib Khasgi Karbhari, on October 13, in the Temple of Ambabai where he and the Rajopadhye were actually engaged in appointing learned Brahmins to perform certain rites, from the next day, in connection with the Navaratra (Dasara) festival. The Rajopadhye was questioned by the Karbhari about the propriety of this step taken by the Brahmins. He replied that it was a most irregular and unauthorised act on their part and ought not to be given any importance.

Holding as he did this view, the Rajopadhye himself handed over the betel-nuts to Narayan Bhat and his adherents as a retainer for their services during the Navaratra festival. Accordingly Narayan Bhat went next day to the temple of Ambabai to worship the Goddess and nobody prevented him from doing so. They however declared that the Goddess was polluted by the touch of Narayan Bhat and forcibly prevented others from worshipping her. They then proceeded to His Highness and asked him to pass orders on their application of the previous day and demanded permission to purify the Goddess. His Highness could not pass any off-hand orders in the matter as the questions in issue were very important. In the first place, the authority under which the applicants exercised the power of excommunication had to be ascertained. In the second place, His Highness had to find out if there was sufficient justification for the step taken by these people. It was also necessary to see if Sevekari had been given a hearing by the authority issuing the order against him before any step was taken and a *bona fide* attempt was made to give him justice. Fearing however that the collision of the two parties—the fourteen on the one hand and Sevekari with his followers on the other—would lead to a breach of the peace, His Highness directed both parties not to enter the temple till the question was decided. The Brahmins immediately proceeded to the Political Agent and made oral complaints against His Highness. Colonel Seely, whose fairness was never challenged even by the Brahmins, asked for a memorial in writing which after it was received by him he answered by informing the petitioners that he did not think it necessary to interfere in a religious dispute of that nature and that His Highness' Government was the final authority in such cases. When the Khasgi Karbhari asked the applicants to justify the step they had taken, they informed that he had no business to go into the merits of the question and his only duty was to carry out the

order issued by them. This presumptuousness met with the only answer it deserved and the State relegated the application to the files of defunct matters. The attitude of the Brahmins thus showed that they were not going to budge an inch from the position of infallible and unchallenge-and able authority which they had arrogated to themselves would not allow His Highness even the common powers of a Civil Court in all matters in which they chose to dictate to him or to his officers. The then Jagadguru, the High Priest of the Brahmins, had no standing in the matter as the local Brahmavrinda had all his powers to themselves within the limits of the city. The Maharaja was nobody as he was a Sudra and the Brahmins were supreme in all social and religious matters. History could have shown them that these pretensions were absolutely without any foundations. In India, from times immemorial, the rulers had always exercised the final authority in social as well as religious disputes, more particularly when they affected the civil rights of individuals or communities. The king was, according to the oldest scriptures, accepted by all Hindus as the ultimate tribunal in matters like this. The Brahmins had been content even in the heyday of their supremacy with the role of mere advisers. The Maratha history of the seventeenth and subsequent centuries is full of instances in which even the Brahmins had willingly sought and abided by the commands of their Chhatrapati Maharaja at Satara or Kolhapur. The gleanings from the Maratha chronicles by Mr. Telang give ample evidence of this. Despite all this history, the Brahmins of Kolhapur went the length of denying to His Highness the right to demand from them the reasons for the steps they had taken against a respectable man, himself a Brahman, presumably because he had performed the Vedokta Shravani for a certain Maratha family. The *Samarth*, their admitted mouthpiece, threatened the Maharaja with dire consequences if he persisted in his determination to assert his rights. It proposed that the ques-

tions arising out of the controversy should be decided by the Brahmavrinda who should be approached by the Maharaja through the Rajopadhye who had already shown his inclinations by refusing to serve His Highness at Panhala. If society in Kolhapur is divided on religious grounds, thundered forth the Brahman organ, the whole of Maharashtra will tremble under the shock of a religious storm!

A few days later, the Kojâgar ceremony at the Palace was performed by Mr. Sevekari as the Rajopadhye who was bound to perform it did not go to do his duty. In the meanwhile, His Highness had also made up his mind to take up the challenge. On 7th October, he issued an order that the Palace ceremonies should be according to the Vedokta forms and that if any one failed in obeying the order, he was to receive no emoluments. The reply of the Brahmins was an attempt to divide the Marathas themselves in two camps, one for and the other against the Vedokta movement. Much success does not seem to have attended these efforts to divide and rule. But it was rumoured that there was a division in the Palace itself. Her Highness Shri Sakwarbaisaheb, the grandmother of His Highness who was in the nature of things the most respected lady in the royal family, was said to have decided upon the Puranokta ritual at the beginning of the Navaratra and the priests hoped that her feminine superstitions and fears could be played upon for effecting a schism in the enemy's camp. They were, however, entirely foiled in this attempt as His Highness proved too strong for such influences. Then the aid of the Political Agent was invoked. He was alternately cajoled and bullied. This was a quarrel between the Maharaja on one side and the "entire Brahman world of India" on the other. His Highness' action was "in defiance of the authority of the priesthood." Unmoved by the varied tactics, the Maharaja ordered Messrs. K. N. Pandit and V. B. Gokhale —two of the highest Brahmin Officials in the State—to inves-

tigate the history of the Vedokta custom in the royal family. The inquiry was to be carried on in collaboration with Rajopadhye. This revived the Brahmin hopes for a time. But when the judges concluded that the Kshatriyaship of the Maharaja was an admitted fact, the hopes were once more shattered.

On November 8, Rajopadhye was again asked to adopt the Vedokta ritual for all ceremonies in the Palace. The only effect it produced was to induce him to send a further batch of interested emissaries to various places to collect some facts which could be twisted into countenancing the Brahmin theory. The Maharaja was busy with his own State affairs and his attention was chiefly engaged with the approaching visit to England for attending the Coronation of His late Majesty King Edward VII. The Rajopadhye was delaying matters and was probably hoping to win his point with a change in the mood of His Highness which delay may be expected to bring about. The Maharaja had, however, no desire to allow such tactics. On the first of May 1902, he served a notice on the Rajopadhye calling upon him to show cause why he should not be deprived of the Inams given him for service on the ground that he had failed to perform his duties as ordered, and was further informed that failure to comply with the orders within the stipulated limit of four days would necessitate proper steps being taken. On the fifth, the Rajopadhye replied that he wanted further time to consider the position he was going to take. The only object in thus postponing decision was to confuse the real issue in the matter by mixing it with abstruse or irrelevant topics. The Rajopadhye party was playing a double game. On the one hand, they were representing to the authorities that the Maharaja's own status was not the real bone of contention but his attempts to pull through his relatives and friends raised difficult problems and made their task difficult. On the other hand, His Highness was being goaded on to settle the question in so far as it con-

cerned the whole Hindu community. "Some say that the Maharaja is going to have the matter settled in his own case only. This is not encouraging." So wrote the *Samarath* on the eve of the final order passed by the Maharaja. His Highness was shrewd enough to see what the object of this advice was. He told one of his friends that apparently "the other side has represented their case to you. You can see what strength there is in their arguments. Every one knows that no distinction is made between a natural and an adopted son, but that does not seem to be their point. Their objection is apparently based on the fact that the Ghatge Family from which I am adopted is not a Kshatriya Family. But there are records which clearly disprove such an assumption.

"That family has always considered itself to be of true Kshatriya origin. In days gone by, they have even gone the length of excommunicating my ancestors and their names are found among those five Kshatriya families which exist. As regards my attempt to pull through other Maratha families, I may say, I have no concern in the matter. Of course if the Maratha families are really Kshatriyas, I do not know how they can be prevented from putting forth their claims. But the present question is only concerning me and I never asked the Rajopadhye or any other Brahmin to perform Vedic ritual in any other Maratha family."

The arguments which were being used against His Highness can be gathered clearly from this. The dodge in putting forward a suggestion that the question should not be settled only for His Highness, while arguments like this were being secretly used to mislead the friends of the Maharaja, is plain enough. It is needless to say that the Maharaja could easily see through it.

Those who accused the Maharaja of a desire to grab the Inam of Rajopadhye under the pretext of forcing him to perform the Vedokta ceremonies ignored two important facts. One was that the Maharaja was at the bottom of his heart a thorough

believer in the religious sacraments and looked upon the Vedic religion as a creed of his innermost life. His faith in true worship was unshakable until about the close of his life. He was scrupulously careful in observing the daily Puja of the Shaivic symbol which he had got tatooed on one of his hands. Even when in England, he never missed this Puja before he did anything else in the morning. Many instances of his deep and abiding faith—almost bordering on superstition—may be cited. Early in their lives, he and his brother used to pay their devotions regularly at the Gaibi Mosque or Durga at Kagal. The Maharaja kept up his habit of doing homage to the various family deities, specially the Amba Goddess at Kolhapur and Hupri, a village in his State.

When he became an Arya Samajist, a friend of his asked him if he was prepared to dispense with image worship. "No," he said, "I have faith in the worship of the images and I cannot do away with it." A man with a temperament like this could not offend his priest so deeply unless he was convinced that his religion and his personal faith fully justified his claims. He tried hard,—and this is the second consideration which is left out of account by many of his critics in this aspect of his life—he tried unceasingly to induce the Rajopadhye to come to terms; but when insults were added to injuries and the Rajopadhye party was adamantine in its refusal to yield on the point, the provocation was too strong even for his superstitious nature. The Maharaja on his part was unwilling to be branded as a Sudra, a low-caste Prince, without a claim to the social status of his brother-Princes. But he was anxious that he should not be driven to extreme measures. The Rajopadhye was an English-educated young man. His advisers, men like the Jahagirdar of Ichalkaranji and Professor Bijapurkar, were also men who had fully imbibed the culture of western education. It is strange that a compromise could not be effected between two such parties on a question like this. In bygone times, when the Vedas could be

maintained as a mystery and the Sudras could have no access to them, there was some explanation of the jealous care with which the Brahmins sought to exclude the Sudras from the sacred mantras of the Vedic lore. But now that the Vedas were published and translated into European languages by European savants, now that the Brahmins themselves were teaching the Vedas to all sorts of people—both Hindus and non-Hindus,—there was not a shadow of justification for the obstinate attitude which the Rajopadhye and his friends had assumed. The official notices referred to above were not the only intimation the Rajopadhye had of the Maharaja's determination in this connection. For months the Maharaja was telling him, personally as well as through friends, that the refusal would cost him dear and that he should agree to serve his masters properly, masters who had placed at his disposal a not inconsiderable income of something like thirty thousand rupees a year. While at Panhala in the early days of 1902, the Maharaja invited him to an interview and in the presence of several Brahmins, he entreated the Rajopadhye to listen to reason and common sense. The reply was that though the Chhatrapatis might be Kshatriyas, the Maharaja was born in the Ghatage family of Kagal and therefore, his request could not be granted! I have shown already that the Ghatages were as good Kshatriyas as the Bhosales and even if they were not—and there was not the slightest excuse for the foolish rejection of their claims to Kshatriyaship—adoption meant, in the theory of Hinduism, the Maharaja's birth into the Bhosale family. Considerations like these however would not weigh with men who were evading the Maharaja's claims by hook or by crook. The documents which proved that the one family was Kshatriya also proved that the other was equally so. Mr. Tilak was ready to allow the status to the Maharaja as he was a Chhatrapati which meant that his second son, who would not succeed to the Gadi, would be a Sudra! Were the Maharaja to accept this favour from the Brahmins for

himself alone, where would he be ? What social relations could he have with his own relatives ? When it was urged that for a number of years the Bhosales had given up the Vedokta, His Highness agreed to go through the necessary expiatory penance. He wished thus to meet the Brahmins as far as was in the nature of things possible. It must be noted to their credit that a few of the Brahmin friends of the Rajopadhye advised him to yield. Brahmanism could not exist without the aid of the Kshatriyas and it was not wisdom to refuse the Hindu Princes a right to their status. This argument, however, did not prevail with Rajopadhye and his short-sighted friends. One of the Maharaja's feudatories, perhaps driven on to such action by the pent-up animosities of many generations, tried to stiffen the priest against the Maharaja. A Professor in the State College added his own mite. It is said that the mother of the Rajopadhye also had a potent voice in the counsels of the Brahmin Party. In all probability, they hoped and believed that the Maharaja would not have courage enough to take the final step of resuming the Inam. When therefore the Maharaja sent messages after messages to the Rajopadhye prior to the final order, the latter mistook it for weakness on the Maharaja's part. The more importunate His Highness was, the more obdurate did the Rajopadhye become. The night previous to the day the last step was taken, Mr. K. Gaikwad was deputed to try for the last time. He too failed. The Maharaja had thus no alternative left open to him. If he was not to beat a hasty retreat and yield to the arrogance of the Brahmins, whose word, as they said, must be law to the Maharaja, he must go forward like a true Kshatriya and teach his conceited opponents a much needed lesson. The order of resumption on the 6th May was the result.

His Highness was now about to sail for England. The date of departure from Kolhapur was fixed for the 14th of May, eight days after the Khalsa order against the Rajopadhye. The week which thus intervened was, it

could easily be imagined, full of bustle in Kolhapur. The public was in a sense surprised with the turn things had taken on the eve of an event which every one looked upon with a sense of anxiety. Trips to Europe had not proved very auspicious to the Chhatrapati family in the past. It has been shown in a previous chapter how the Maharaja himself and his whole family were nervous about the proposal a few years back. A last adroit attempt was made to exploit this fact in favour of the Rajopadhye. A day or two before the date of departure, a high Brahmin officer of the Maharaja reminded His Highness of the misfortune which had befallen his father (in the Kagal family) and his grandfather Shri Rajaram Maharaja in their trips to Europe. In the face of such facts, did the Maharaja dare to run the risk of a voyage to England with the curses of the whole Brahmin world on his head? The cool reply of the dauntless Maharaja was that his ancestors had sailed with the blessings of the Brahmins to support them and had met with misfortunes. "Let me try now," said His Highness, "whether the curses secure my House better fortune than their blessings." These attempts, however, did not end here. Threats of political troubles were added to those of divine displeasure. On June 27, 1902, Mr. R. R. Shirgaonkar, the Acting Chief Judge writes that "the Brahmans are as usual very troublesome and arrogant and it has become very difficult for us to bear with them. I would therefore most earnestly request Your Highness to return here as early as you can." Secret party meetings and conferences were going on to devise the course of future action. This was natural enough, though it may be doubted whether there was any justification for the political colour which was being given to this essentially religious or socio-religious question. The Brahmin party was not, however, content even with this. The less scrupulous among them were now resorting to methods in full consonance with their unscrupulous natures. A friend in Kolhapur refers to

these in one of his letters to His Highness in England. On 27 July, he says :—" I am sorry to hear that certain scoundrels have been trying to annoy Your Highness by marking the houses in the town with bloody finger-prints. I hope you will not let it affect you in any way. There is no more real significance in it than there was in the letters telling me I was going to be murdered. Probably the same people are responsible for both and nothing would please them more than to think their stabs in the dark were being felt. The object is clear. Your Highness is too manly to be influenced, but they hope to frighten the ladies and so get them on their side to try and persuade you to forego your rights rather than anger the caste that claims it is a right to degrade you. Ill-luck and misfortune cannot come to you at the bidding of anyone, much less of such people."

His Highness stood in no need of advice to treat such attempts with the contempt they deserved. But they were not meant to influence him. The Brahmins who were responsible for them knew that the best point for attack was the naturally credulous minds of the ladies in the royal family, who had like H. H. Shri Sakwarbai Saheb, passed through the bitter experiences of the past and were likely to be frightened by such evil omens. Shortly after the Maharaja's return to Kolhapur, on September 14, His Highness lost his adoptive mother, Her Highness Anandibai Maharaj, who had been suffering from illness for many months past and had a very weak constitution. The funeral obsequies were of course performed according to the Vedokta rites. The Gods, and the Brahmins, wished to avenge the wrong done to the Brahmins and as His Highness still refused to mend his ways and persisted in the Vedokta ritual, the same night some portion of the Old Palace in the city was on fire. What surer indication of divine will did His Highness want after this ? Let His Highness himself describe his feelings in this matter :—" I am much obliged to you for your kind letters of condolence. You can

well imagine what a bad day I had on the 14th instant. My mother died in the morning of that day and the whole of the afternoon was passed in performing obsequies which are very tiresome and which were rendered doubly so owing to the objection taken by the Brahmins and the religious threats held out by them even on that sad and solemn occasion near the burning place. With this, however, my troubles were not over. At about mid-night I was suddenly awakened by cries of people who were shouting aloud that my Old Palace was on fire. I went to the spot at once and found that the fire had broken out in the Palace surrounded on one side by the old records and on the other by my granary and the other stores of an inflammable nature.

"It would have been difficult to put it out but for the timely and hearty assistance of Col. Ferris and Mr. Burke who lost no time in coming to the scene with the Kolhapur Infantry men. The B. Community is naturally jubilant over the double calamity which they ascribed to the anger of God."

Discussing incidents like this, His Highness once said to his Diwan, Mr. Sabnis, that he would not be afraid of death or any other calamity to himself or his friends but, he continued, "in case such a calamity befalls any of us, I would be sorry that it would give the Brahmins an opportunity to boast that their wrath was effective and thus to exploit the superstitions of men. Let us not meet with accidents until their influence is put down, lest they might take advantage of the accidents to put down our cause." Happily for the cause, no further misfortune befell him for many years hereafter.

On September 9, His Highness writes :—"I am having a very busy week as different sections of my subjects are vieing with each other in expressing their delight on my safe arrival.

"My reception here has been very enthusiastic notwithstanding all attempts of the disaffected few to mar it. My

circular about the giving of appointments in my State has of course led to much discontent among the B. class here and also outside.

"I learnt that two of Tilak's A.D.C.'s came here in my absence and tried to get up a strong opposition, but I do not think I could prevent such things.

"I hear that *N.* had also been to Satara and tried to hold threats to the descendants of the old Satara line and get an admission from *him* in favour of Rajopadhye. He could do that as he was his creditor, but I hear he did not succeed and then he tried the same trick with his sons and got them over to his side. This is what I hear and you may be able to have it verified.

"I understand Col. Ferris to say that there was an admission from the old Satara line in favour of my late priest, but I believe that might refer to what the sons admitted and not what their father has said. It's a pity that the sons seem to be going more and more under the influence of the Poona Bs. It is customary to visit the local Goddess whenever we return here after a long tour and the Bs. here had a mind to prevent me from doing so unless I did some penance.

"The educated Maratha community heard this and they told them that there were many Bs. who were allowed to enter the temple without doing penance and there is no reason why I should not be allowed and, if they persist, they would have recourse to force. It seemed to me not the proper way and I decided not to enter the temple if there was the least resistance. But nobody came in the way. They have, however, succeeded in getting some of the old Marathas to their side who would insist on my taking penance ; but they will find it very hard to force me to do so."

With reference to the attitude of the Satara family alluded to above, a friend informed His Highness on September 11, 1902 :—"I may perhaps mention that the Sardar told me at an interview last May that he did not care about

this dispute and that his view was that all persons in power are Kshatriyas and that the English were now the Kshatriyas of India and that he himself not being in power was not a proper Kshatriya and did not care a straw about the matter."

What a sorry fall for a descendant of the Great Shivaji!

The anti-Vedokta agitation was going on all these months with unabated vigour. The application of Rajopadhye for a review of the order of May 6 was rejected by the Council after a hearing on 23rd August. The fury of the *Samarath* knew no bounds. "The majesty of law has been violated, prescriptive rights have been disregarded, bounds of courtesy have been outstripped, considerations of respect and reverence have been forgotten, all sense of security in vested interests has been reduced to the vanishing point, in one word, the credit of indigenous talent for administration has been destroyed." It was in these portentous words that the decision was announced. The Press in the Deccan, dominated as it then was by the Brahmins, echoed these sentiments from week to week. The stage was not free from the taint of this agitation. A few pieces were added on to "Tukaram"—a Marathi drama—ridiculing the pretensions of the "Sudras" to Kshatriyaship and what was more, the boys of the Rajaram College sought to recite them in public meeting in the College itself, and when they were prevented from doing so, the play was staged in a public theatre. An appeal was preferred to the Political Agent against the Darbar's decision in the Rajopadhye matters. The confidence which the Brahmin Party felt of their ultimate victory was so great that the Maharaja was told that "the B. community is enraged with me and they say that they will take the matters to the highest tribunal, that is, Parliament, and say if they do not succeed with the present ministry, they hope to win their point when the Liberals come into power."

But what if the Maharaja turned a deaf ear to these appeals or threats and the British Government did not inter-

fere ? The piles of Puranas were explored and stories of Kings punished by Gods for disobeying or disregarding the Brahmins were addressed to His Highness. Kings had lost their kingdoms when the Brahmins forsook them. By aspiring to the Vedic ceremonies, what did Shivaji gain ? Death for himself and his son. What was the fate of the Brahmin who performed those ceremonies for him ? He died a miserable death in a lavatory. Unmoved by these stories, the Maharaja ordered that the priests throughout the State who refused to perform the Vedokta for the Royal family, should cease to receive any cash allowances from the State. Most of the Joshis or village priests agreed. The Kolhapur Brahmins who now extended their jurisdiction to outside the city—which they had never before even pretended to be entitled to do—issued a bull of excommunication against some Brahmins of Herle who had *thus* subscribed to the Vedokta creed. A petulent Kulkarni of that village assembled a village Darbar in the Chavadi and promulgated the Brahmanical order of excommunication with all the solemnity of a royal proclamation. He received a prompt and sharp retort and his Kulkarni watan was declared Khalsa (forfeited).

The Delhi Darbar of Lord Curzon came off on the New Year's day. His Highness who attended it on invitation was invested with the insignia of "G.C.V.O." by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught under the commands of His Majesty the King Emperor.

On February 19, Col. Ferris pronounced his well-reasoned decision in the Rajopadhye appeal at the conclusion of which he held that he could find nothing in the circumstances of the case that would " warrant my interference with the legitimate authority and powers of the Maharaja." After pointing out the various notices served upon Rajopadhye since October 1901, his failure to officiate as a priest in the Palace, as he had admitted in 1897 he was bound to do, and his determination to deny the existence of that duty, Col. Ferris

Colonel W. B. Ferris.

referred to the two main issues in the case raised by the applicant:—(1) Could His Highness resume an alienation confirmed during minority by the British Administration of his State? And if he could, (2) were the inams held by Rajopadhye given him *on condition* that he should perform the services as a priest? These were the two questions Col. Ferris was called on to answer. In giving an affirmative answer to the first, the Colonel pointed out that in fact the question would arise only in case the title of Rajopadhye was denied by the Darbar. As a matter of fact, no one had ever contended that he had a defective title. "The resumption was on totally different grounds, *viz.*, that the lands were held for the performance of a specific service. This service the applicant declines to perform and as a consequence the lands are forfeited as the religious service has never been commuted." With reference to the second and the more crucial question, Rajopadhye contended that the alienation was unconditional and the property held was his private family property and not a remuneration for services to be rendered by him. The whole question therefore turned upon the interpretation of the Sanads under which the alienations had taken place. One of these, as translated by the Rajopadhye himself in 1889, said:—

"You are our family priest (Purohit) and also are very learned in the Vedas; you are constantly wishing our welfare. It is necessary for us, *therefore*, to see you every way well off. We have, *therefore*, given to you, &c., &c." (The italics are mine.)

The meaning is as clear as could be, and until the present controversy arose, Rajopadhye himself never doubted it. In a memorial he had submitted in 1889, he had said:—

"These gifts were given *in consideration of the high office* which the memorialist's ancestors held in the Kolhapur State. *viz.*, that of Purohit or Kulguru, the family High Priest to the Raja of Kolhapur."

Earlier still, in March 1873, the then Rajopadhye, elder brother of the present holder of that 'high office', admitted that 'the principal object of the State in granting us such property was only to give us some income anyhow' (whether as Patilki watan or otherwise—that is what was meant in this context) 'for we being the Kulguru (family priest) the State did not intend to take service from us.' Service in this place meant service as Patil or village headman for which office the grant in question was made. His contention therefore was that he should not be asked to serve as Patil on the ground that he was performing the duties of family priest in return for which the watan was conferred upon him. There was another admission dated 1847 and made by an ancestor of the applicant to the effect that the Inam he enjoyed '*had been granted for officiating as family priest.*' The title which the family bore meant that the person who held the property under that title was bound by implication to perform the services attached to the office. The Rajopadhye could not have it both ways. He could not on the one hand refuse to serve as Patil on the ground that he was rendering another service as priest and, on the other, refuse to officiate as Kulguru because the watan was a personal watan. The nature of Rajopadhye's holdings being thus clear, the refusal of Rajopadhye to perform services in a manner justified by the status of the Maharaja justified also the penalty of forfeiture, and if the effect followed the cause brought into existence by Rajopadhye, he had to thank himself for it.

Rajopadhye pursued the next remedy open to him by presenting an appeal to the Government of Bombay. During the months of suspense which preceded that Government's decision in October 1903, the flames of the controversy spread on all sides in the Kolhapur State. Several Brahmins who were enjoying grants from the State in connection with religious duties attached to them had refused to accept the Kshatriya status of the Maharaja and Nemesis had overtaken

them with its unfailing accuracy as in the Rajopadhye case. But in most cases a chance of repentance was offered to all of them by their inams being in the first instance attached and not resumed. The most important of them was the alienation made to Shri Shankaracharya Swami of Kolhapur Matha (Monastery). This property was attached in 1903, though on grounds which did not immediately or directly affect the Vedokta question. It was restored some time later. The long story of the Math will be dealt with in another chapter. It will suffice to say here that the Swami ultimately yielded to the calls of reason and consented to the Kshatriyaship of the Chhatrapati family. The Brahmins on their own part were trying to counteract the measures adopted by the Maharaja by proclaiming the ban of excommunication against every Brahmin who accepted the inevitable and admitted the just claims of the Royal family. Meherban Joshirao, another functionary holding duties analogous to those of the Rajopadhye, was one of these victims of Brahmanical wrath. The Khasgi Karbhari was ordered to prevent Joshirao from touching the Goddess Ambabai for the sin he was committing in carrying on certain worship in the Palace according to the Vedic ritual. No notice, it need hardly be added, was taken of these imprecations and the old threats followed. King Nriga had only by a mistake given one Brahmin's cow to another and though he tried to expiate by giving away a hundred thousand animals, the justice-loving Gods of the Brahmins hurled him into hell. After telling its readers this story, the Bhagawat Purana advises the kings who get angry with the insolence of the Brahmins to be meek and humble. " So even if the Brahmins commit an offence or injure you by cursing or beat you occasionally," continues that Holy Book of the Priests," you ought not to be angry with them and must bow down before them." Was not that a clear admonition to the Maharaja, thought the misguided Brahmins of Kolhapur.

The matter was finally set at rest by the decision of the Bombay Government on October 16, 1903 and that of the Government of India in May 1905. The back of the Brahman opposition was thus broken for a time. But it quickly assumed another form after this. Hardly a month had elapsed when the Brahmin politicians of Kolhapur began to talk of a Representative Assembly for Kolhapur for the purpose of ventilating the grievances, not of the Brahmins, but of the poor ryots in the State ! But this phase of their agitation and its more serious offshoots will be dealt with in the sequel as that opens up an entirely new subject. It is enough here to note how the one grew out of the other. Until now, the Maharaja was a kind-hearted Prince misled by his intelligent but wicked ministers. With their complete discomfiture in this first battle, the Maharaja suddenly turns into a despot whose powers must be curtailed. Honesty should have impelled these critics to admit that their motive was primarily to avenge the blows which Brahmanical arrogance had been dealt by the Darbar. But wanting in the courage which the obstinate defence of even a false position requires the Brahmins now wished to play the role of disinterested patriots fighting for all the State ; and once again they failed as miserably as before.*

* When the Rajopadhye case was before the Bombay Government, the Brahmins were just on the point of stealing a success over the Maharaja, but the wonderful adroitness and firmness which H. H. then exhibited saved him from a crushing defeat. That is a story which must await publication until——who knows when ?

CHAPTER XI.

The Coronation Trip to England.

The arrangements behind—Ideas about the trip—Companions—the Send-off—the LL. D. conferred by Cambridge—other Engagements in England—the Badge of M. R. A. S. presented—the tour through southern Europe—Florence visited—a Peep into the Vesuvius Crater—a few Incidents—the Empire Coronation Dinner—the Resolution of July 26—Its critics—Return home—Impressions of England—the Addresses.

IN the midst of the storm and stress which now faced the Maharaja in Kolhapur, he had to prepare himself for a trip to Great Britain for the purpose of attending the Coronation of King Edward VII. His Highness had received the invitation in the beginning of October 1901 and though his first impulse was to go, he had to think over the question for some time. The Vedokta fight had just begun and His Highness was not likely to underrate the forces that he was raising against himself. But his sense of loyalty to the Throne prevailed over the misgivings in his mind and on 24th October he wrote to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay intimating his acceptance of the invitation to represent the Princes and Chiefs of Bombay on that ceremonial occasion. The principal members of the party which was to accompany him were his brother the Chief Saheb of Kagal, Mr. Sabnis the Dewan, Mr. Gaikwad and Dr. Borker. Mr. (now Rao Bahadur) Parasnis also joined the party later on.

The first question which had to be considered in connection with the trip was to make arrangements for the administration of the State affairs during the absence of the Maharaja. It was by no means an easy matter. The two most trusted men in the State, Shri Bapusaheb and Mr. Sabnis, he was

taking with himself. The Vedokta trouble was at its worst. The most senior member of the Council was a Brahmin gentleman of known prejudices, admittedly a friend of the Rajopadhye and his party. In the face of these facts the first proposal which His Highness accepted was to vest the affairs in the hands of a Council which was to consist of Messrs. Pandit, Shirgaokar and Marathe, all of them Brahmins, though Mr. Shirgaokar was a Gaud Saraswat. This arrangement was approved by the Government about the middle of March. But the turn which the Vedokta controversy took after the end of March seems to have compelled him to reconsider his first decision and he introduced Mr. Jadhav into the Council in the place of Mr. Marathe.

In the following letter of April 17 (1902), we get a glimpse of the Maharaja's ideas about the coming trip. It was addressed to Mr. (afterwards Sir) Claude Hill who was to be his companion during the tour :—

"I am delighted to read your kind letter, dated 28th ultimo. By this time my letter giving the list of persons accompanying me may have reached you. I assure you the arrangements about home, carriages, servants, etc., would leave nothing to be desired as so much care and forethought seem to have been bestowed on every little item. Of course we shall all try to adopt the European mode of life but, to be candid, the change, I am afraid, would be so sudden and so great that we may find it difficult to leave at once the habits which are born with us.

"I should avoid as far as possible all engagements at night, as we are not used to keep late hours.

"It is indeed very kind of you to have secured for me beforehand boxes at the Derby and Essex meetings. My agents in Bombay for the purpose of this tour are T. Cook & Sons. If you think, however, that other agents are necessary there, an account may be opened in my name with Messrs. King and Co., or any other firm you choose, I shall arrange

to deposit money with their agents in Bombay on hearing from you. We are used, as you know, to ride about cross country, but I do not know if I may not feel nervous in riding about in the crowds of London and some, who know it, advise me not to try it. If necessary, I might borrow good quiet horses from Sir W. Lee Warner or Mr. Pease. Mr. Pease, when he was here, asked me to be his guest for a few days and has, I think, arranged for some engagements for me there; and Col. Ferris may have written to you about them. He is said to be a good judge of horse-flesh and I have asked him to select for me a team of roan mares. Of course when I come there, we shall go together and have a look at them.

"I think I would rather not have a coach and team. An ordinary phaiton and pair will be enough. Of course I must see the chief places of interest in England and the Eton School of which I have heard so much must be one of them.

"I should also like to see a place where agricultural pursuits are carried on large and small scales such as the breeding of agricultural stock, poultry, the dairy farm, etc.; but I think we might settle the programme when I come there.

"I think I may also require a servant who knows some Indian language and may be of use to my menial servants. In my father's time such a person by name Fuller was engaged and he used to go about with the servants and show them races, sights, etc.

"Everything is now going on smoothly.

"I wanted to dine here for a few days in English fashion but I had to give up the idea. You already know that the Brahmins here are trying to degrade us and all call us menials and if I were to adopt English style of food, &c., it would give them a handle which I do not wish to do especially at

present when the religious question is being hotly discussed I do not know how it will end." The P. S. adds :—

"It is rather unfortunate that this religious reaction should have come in my time. In my father's time there was no such difficulty. He had not even to undergo penance even after his return. I hope I may avoid it too."

Sir Claude Hill and Mr. McNeil had been appointed by the Government to assist His Highness in this trip. They proved so valuable a help to him that their friendship grew into a lifelong tie of mutual affection and regard. His Highness, many years later, associated Sir Claude Hill's name with a beautiful sanitarium built by him on the historic Temblai Hill, two miles to the East of Kolhapur.

His Highness left Kolhapur for England on May 14. The send-off given to him by his subjects was worthy of the occasion and worthy of his own high position. The Chiefs of the Southern Maratha Country presented an address to the Maharaja at Miraj on the preceding Sunday and requested him to convey a message of loyalty and homage on their own behalf to His Majesty the King-Emperor. The people of Kolhapur assembled in their thousands to bid him goodbye. The Railway Station at Kolhapur was literally packed with men and even Colonel Ferris, the Political Agent, found it impossible to reach the carriage without elbowing his way to it with great difficulty. The rush on the Platform, thought the Colonel, was due to the inability of the Police to keep the crowd within their control and he told the Chief Police Officer Mr. Pendharkar to call on him at the next station when the train would stop. His Highness heard this and quietly called Mr. Pendharkar to his saloon when the train steamed out of Kolhapur and told him to absolve himself by telling the Colonel that His Highness himself had ordered the Police to leave the mob to its own ways and not to interfere with them. This was not the fact; but it showed how much he

liked to be among the mob which he trusted perhaps even more than his friends would have liked him to do.

His Highness reached Bombay the next morning and sailed for Europe on the 17th by the S. S. "Peninsular" and reached Dover on June 2, passing through Italy and France on his way. Rao Bahadur (then only Mr.) D. R. Parasnis joined the party in Bombay and was taken to England by His Highness with the never fulfilled hope of securing historical documents of great value. The party put up in Cadogan Square where the British Government had made arrangements for them. Dr. (now Rao Saheb) Tengshe who was then in America was also ordered to join His Highness in London which he accordingly did about the end of June. The original intention of a short stay in England to be followed by a tour in Europe on the way back to India had to be changed owing to the postponement of the Coronation necessitated by the King's illness. So after spending a few days in England, His Highness left for a short tour in the southern parts of Europe during the period that intervened between then and the Coronation in August. But before he did so, His Highness was honoured by the ancient University of Cambridge which conferred upon him the Honorary Degree of LL. D. as a mark of that University's regard for His Highness' interest in education and culture. This was on June 10, a week after he reached England.

Two days later, His Highness visited the ancient capital of the Saxons, Winchester, where he was greatly impressed by the old monuments of King Arthur and King Alfred's times. The College at Winchester gave him a reception at which His Highness acknowledged the honour done him in a fine Sanskrit speech in reply to the Latin speech of the Principal. On June 16, His Highness attended the great parade of thirty thousand troops at Aldershot. The Prince of Wales was present; but the King could not attend owing to an attack of lumbago which soon grew serious and neces-

sitated a postponement of the Coronation. The Royal Asiatic Society gave a banquet to His Highness on the 17th June. On the 22nd June, he visited the London Homeopathic Hospital. Oxford came next on the 17th June. His Highness saw Prince Fatesinhrao, the Yuvaraj of Baroda, who was there for study. Mr. Pease, M.P., a friend of the Maharaja since the former's visit to Kolhapur the year before, invited him to a dinner on June 30, where many of his friends met His Highness. On July 2, His Highness had the honour of dining with the Prince of Wales. Windsor Castle was visited two days later in the company of His Highness the Maharaja Scindia and His Highness the Aga Khan. From 5th to the 10th of July, His Highness was at Carlisle in Scotland and during this week he saw something of sport in the Highlands. His Highness was also present at the general meeting of the Royal Agricultural Society of England and received his Honorary Member's Badge at the hands of its President, Prince Christian. This honour was conferred upon His Highness "as a mark of personal respect to him and as a compliment to the great territory he so worthily represented."

Sir William Lee Warner gave a Garden Party to His Highness on the 16th July. That over, His Highness left England on a short tour in Southern Europe. At Paris, he saw the Great Eeffl Tower, Napoleon's tomb and other historical places. Passing Milan he reached Venice on the 21st and saw, among other objects of interest, a famous glass factory. Florence, which he reached on the 24th, had more than a tourist's interest for the Maharaja. It was there that his grandfather, His Highness Shri Rajaram Maharaja, was cut off in the prime of his life and a monument was erected in one of the beautiful gardens of the place in memory of that young Prince. His Highness and party showed their respect for the late Maharaja by placing floral wreaths on the statue and worshipping it in the Indian fashion by burn-

His Highness and His Party in England.

ing camphor and incense at the foot of the bust. A photograph of the monument with the party standing by its side was also taken in memory of this inspiring occasion. The visit was further celebrated in Indian style, by feeding the poor at Florence for a day.

The party was at Naples on the 26th. There His Highness saw Mount Vesuvius and against the wishes of all his companions, he enjoyed a peep into the huge and still burning crater on the top of the Mount. After this excursion, the Party came down to the foot of the Mount and sat to enjoy a sumptuous lunch for which orders had been given prior to the commencement of the ascent. His Highness had given strict instructions, as was usual with him, for avoiding beef. But to his great surprise, he found that the principal part of the *menu* consisted of ox tongue. Mr. McNeill, who was in charge of the arrangements, was wild with the Hotelkeeper for this disobedience of his orders. But the poor butler could not understand what all this meant. "Why, Sir, we are not persons who will disobey. There is no beef in this but only tongue," said the confused men of the Hotel. His Highness could only laugh at the distinction between the flesh and the tongue of the cow, made by the keeper of the Hotel who could not make out the motive of the order he had received.

Rome, the City of Seven Hills, was reached on the 29th. The great amphitheatre accommodating ninety thousand spectators for the Gladiatorial fights in ancient times, was the most impressive sight for His Highness. The great arena at the Khasbag which His Highness planned later on was a suggestion from this visit. The Vatican was also an interesting place for him and must have reminded him of the Popes of Kolhapur who were raising a storm against him just at that time.

The party returned to London on August 1st to attend the Coronation on the 9th of that month. After taking his

allotted part in the various solemnities connected with that historic occasion, unique to the people of England for many reasons not the least important of which were that it came at the end of the long Victorian era and that at no previous Coronation of the long line of English Kings had the idea of the world-wide Empire been illustrated and brought home to the world as was done at the Coronation of King Edward VII. His Highness left the Metropolis on August 14 on his way back to his own capital.

A few notes about His Highness' life in England and on the Continent, kindly supplied by Dr. Tengshe, may interest the reader.

" Although His Highness was not fond of any delicacies of our Indian diet, he was still anxious that his party should be given the Indian diet which they liked most and every day he made inquiries whether we had received some Indian fashion food. Another thing for which every one of us was most obliged to him was regarding the inquiries about our health; for the health of Diwansaheb and every one of us he showed great anxiety.

" The Chief of Kagal had a very severe attack of dysentery, the Homeopathic treatment was insisted upon, and His Highness, against our advice, took his turn of attending upon the patient every night for some two or three hours."

Another incident, told by Mr. Sabnis, shows how His Highness was a remarkable figure in England during his stay there. At a social gathering, like others, an English lady, who was anxious to shake hands with His Highness, was inquiring where he was. Another lady came forward to help her and said loudly, " Can't you make out the really majestic figure there? There he is, walking as if he is the lord of all that he surveys!" The lady went forward immediately and shook hands with him.

One remarkable feature of the trip was that during it everything in India was compared with its corresponding

one in England—the dress, the manners, the ways of touring, the castes, educational institutions, etc. Kolhapur was often compared with Bombay and London. "During these discussions," says Dr. Tengshe, "he often asked me what kind of country America was; and whenever I chanced to praise America for her rapid progress and time-saving machinery, His Highness jokingly threatened me with branding me with firetongs, if that praise meant belittling of the English Empire."

"His Highness used to say that India would rise only if one religion prevailed throughout. He once humorously called on me to become a Christian; every one of the party was opposing the idea but had at last to admit that if India had one religion, much of the misery, discontentment and causes of jealousy would disappear. I believe his visit to England planted in him the first ideas which afterwards made him the champion of real social progress and uplift of the Backward Classes. It was when in England that he sent the order to employ State servants of every community.

"During his visit to Italy, he compared its agriculture and industry with the Indian agriculture and industry and made special inquiries about things which he thought suitable to India. He had intended to send one hand to learn agriculture there and was for several years trying to get one. He wanted a practical worker but none came forward. His Highness however learnt the process of artificially bringing up the bees and brought to India the hives and the bees and at Rajputwadi he conducted the industry for about two years, and used to show the honey he had obtained. Another industry he inquired about there was the silk worm industry. He was after this industry for three years. In Italy, he had visited the glass works, bought special glass dishes for the court and was often found making inquiries about glass works in India. He also brought here Sialkote country bottles, but, I believe, his multifarious duties

prevented him from starting that industry here. He visited the artificial pearl industry also in Italy.

"While in England, His Highness always brought to his residence some Indian students to dine with him. He was always helping them and was trying to find out how their number could be increased by arranging for their stay in England at cheaper cost and yet giving them the right education. Mr. S. B. Dhavale, I.C.S., Mr. Gadgil, Bar.-at-Law, Mr. Kolaskar, Dr. Krishnabai, and several Indian gentlemen from Baroda were often present, when discussion went on with very useful results. His Highness was shown several Universities. In London His Highness wore Indian dress and used to walk home from Hyde Park. His slow walk meant for me a rapid quick march.

"His Highness visited Scotland. Sir Alfred Pease, M.P., showed him the farms and the cottage industries there. He had a shooting trip in Scotland and then brought the idea of laying out different parks that preserved the game in this State since then.

"The strain of the visit to Italy was too much for every one of us, but His Highness during the whole time of the trip kept good health. His Highness wanted to enquire into everything he saw and this inquisitive mood would have cost him something very inconvenient at Paris as the train had almost started with the whole of the Kolhapur Party without His Highness."

On July 11, His Highness attended the Empire Coronation Banquet at the Royal Colonial Institute at which statesmen from all parts of the British Empire were present. The Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Chamberlain proposed in a felicitous speech the toast of the "United Empire". His Highness was accorded the privilege of responding on India's behalf. In doing so, His Highness said:—

"I am deeply sensible of the honour that has been done me in associating my name with the toast of the 'United

His Highness Shri Shahu Chhatrapati in England.

Empire,' most especially since the toast has been proposed so kindly by so distinguished a statesman as Mr. Chamberlain. But I feel that it is an honour which I can scarcely claim to deserve. The fact that this toast has been proposed by a gentleman whose name is so famous throughout the Empire and is a synonym for Imperial Unity, might have suggested perhaps as more appropriate the association with the toast, on behalf of India, names which have been more closely connected than has unfortunately been the case with mine, with the defence of the Empire. As you are already aware, my friends the Maharaja of Gwalior, the Maharaja of Bikaner, and more particularly the Maharaja Sir Pratapsingh, have been more fortunate than myself in being able to come actively to the assistance of the Empire in times of trouble; and they could with better right have replied for India to the toast which has been so kindly proposed and so warmly received. But I can assure you that though the flesh has been weak—that is to say the opportunities have been wanting—the spirit has been and is willing as, I trust, I may some day be able to prove. This however is the personal aspect of the question.

"I should like, if I shall not detain you too long, to say why we the Indian Chiefs and visitors view with such peculiar gratification first our presence at this 'Empire Banquet' and secondly why we take it as such a great compliment to be associated with a toast which has been proposed by the Rt. Hon. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain. The Coronation of His Majesty which we may now hope will not be long deferred, has for the first time brought to England not only representatives from the King's Indian Empire, but the leading statesmen from England's great Colonies, and though on other occasions in the past there may have been gatherings in England of Colonial representatives as there have been gatherings of Indian Princes, to-night is perhaps the first occasion in the annals of the British Empire on which units

from both have met together and felt—at least we Indians feel—that we all stand together as one indivisible body. This, I feel, has been already said, much more ably, to night, but I know that my fellow-chiefs would feel I was not doing my duty, if I did not, however inadequately, echo it on their behalf."

The most sensational incident associated with this trip to Europe is the Resolution issued by His Highness from England and published in the Kolhapur State Gazette on July 26, which runs thus :—

"Endeavours have been made in recent years in the Kolhapur State to foster and encourage the education of all classes of the subjects ; but so far, His Highness regrets to have to record that those endeavours have not in the case of the more backward classes met with the success that was hoped for. His Highness has had the matter under very careful consideration and has come to the conclusion that this want of success is due to the fact that the rewards for higher education are not sufficiently widely distributed. To remedy this to a certain extent and to establish within the State an incentive to the backward classes of His Highness's subjects to study up to a higher standard, His Highness has decided that it is desirable to reserve for those classes a larger share of employment in the State service than has hitherto been the case.

"In pursuance of this policy His Highness is pleased to direct that from the date of this order 50 per cent. of the vacancies that may occur shall be filled with recruits from among the backward classes. In all offices in which the proportion of the backward classes is at present less than 50 per cent. the next appointment shall be given to a member of those classes.

"A quarterly return of all appointments made after the issue of this order shall be submitted by all heads of Departments.

" For the purposes of these orders the backward classes shall be understood to mean all castes other than Brahmins, Prabhus, Shenvis, Parsees and other advanced classes."

Of the total population of something like nine lakhs the advanced classes enumerated above did not exceed at the most liberal calculation twenty-six thousand people. The rest of the population formed the backward classes. The ideal of 50 per cent. posts for this overwhelmingly large part of the people was not only moderate but unsatisfactory to the backward classes. Justice demanded that the goal should have been fixed at a considerably higher percentage. The cause for complaint rested with the non-Brahmins who could have rightly contended that the share set apart for them in this Resolution fell far short of the requirements of justice. His Highness, however, seems to have thought that the pace of progress should be more slow and cautious than the backward classes would have wished it to be. These classes welcomed the Resolution as it recognised a sound principle and made a substantial beginning. The Brahmins should have been thankful for the generosity shown to them. But instead of that, the Resolution was described by them as " nothing short of death and destruction of all responsible and legitimate hopes of Brahmins in the Kolhapur State !" All thinking men including the old, pure, high class Marathas are sorry to read the above ! " It will spread discontent among the original inhabitants and old subjects of the State!" The dread which this order has created in the minds of the Brahmins exceeds what they would have felt " if their homes had been laid desolate by an earthquake or a lightning shock !" It is difficult to resist a temptation to smile at the hysterical extravagance of these outbursts of passion. The plain meaning of the order was that half the posts in the State would preferably be given to backward classes candidates and the object being manifestly to encourage higher education among those classes, the candidates would be selected for their

attainments in that direction. It was admitted that the non-Brahmins hitherto imported into the State Service were men of high intellectual eminence and University education. Why should there be any cry then on the ground that the preference meant disregard of all necessary intellectual qualifications? The extravagance of language thus used with reference to a reasonable Resolution like this only showed how nervous the Brahmins had become about their waning influence in the State. It was purely a fight for power, a trial of strength that was going on in Kolhapur under various forms. Whatever threatened the exclusive Brahmin power in the State was anathema to the Maharaja's opponents, however much the backward communities—the bulk of the people—might welcome it. Common sense could have easily convinced them that wisdom lay in blessing this movement among the backward communities to demand a full share of the power which the State Service carried with it. The demand for communal representation in the services has been growing throughout India since His Highness inaugurated the policy embodied in this order. Even its worst critics would not now be guilty of such violent language as was then used against the Maharaja. That is however the usual lot of all those who are ahead of their times. His Highness' eyes penetrated through the mists which hid the future to the ordinary eye and saw clearly the signs of an awakening which was coming on as surely as the waves of the sea. Was he to waste his energy in stemming the tide or should be direct it to its destined goal? Were the backward classes—a full ninety-five per cent. of the total population—to be allotted their rightful place in the public administration or were they to be told to wait and wait until the claims of the Brahmins in the field were all satisfied? Much was made of these classes being unable to supply men of requisite qualifications. The alleged fact was and even to-day is partly true. But it did not affect

the position of those who urged that the few qualified men who might be available should not wait beyond the outskirts of the public offices until those who now thronged the compound or entered it by the back door of existing influences had their satisfaction. The main point that struck His Highness was that the predominance of Brahmins in the Services would never enable the backward communities to come by their own and it was therefore his business to help them on by assuring them of their proper share in the loaves and fishes of office. Judiciously pursued, nothing could be better calculated to put these classes on the road to higher training than a policy of preference to their educated young men coming up from the schools and colleges. No one claimed that this would suffice for the purpose in view. The Maharaja was fully aware that education and preference to public appointments must go hand in hand. That was exactly why the order came some time after the Students' Hostel started in the early months of 1901. The Brahmins were in no mood to appreciate these motives of the Maharaja. They went on cursing him and his advisors, to whose ranks, this time at any rate, was added the name of Sir William Lee Warner, who was then in the India Office in London whence His Highness sent this order. This cursing went on for a while. But a few weeks later, people began to think of the coming back of their Chhatrapati and of extending to him a befitting welcome.

His Highness returned to India after a successful tour in Europe about the end of August. The Brahmin community naturally thought that during these three and a half months of absence from Kolhapur matters had gone from bad to worse; the 'so-called caste-before-merit' resolution issued by him from England had put an end to their ambitions in Kolhapur for all times to come. The rejection of Rajopadhye's application for review by the Council of Administration on the eve of the Maharaja's return was interpreted as another unmistakable sign of the Maharaja's continued determination

to stick to his guns. In spite of this, the leaders of the community started a movement under the presidency of the Jahagirdar of Vishalgad, who was known to have discountenanced the defiant attitude of Rajopadhye from the outset, to present an address of welcome to the Maharaja. Two days later, on the 4th of August, the Marathas resolved in a meeting of their community to welcome His Highness on their own account. The Mussalmans and Jains followed suit. Their communal spirit in a matter which would have been the common concern of all indicated a reaction against the prevalent tendency of the Brahmin leaders to boss every show on the assumption that they represented the whole population. We shall see that this was not the last of that reaction but only the beginning of a new and long—though it may still be hoped, of a temporary and transitional—era of communal self-assertion. Having landed at Bombay on August 30, His Highness spent a few hours there at the Ratnakar Palace of Shet Manikchand, whose generosity subsequently enabled Kolhapur to have the fine Jain Hostel on the Chauphala Maidan, received several addreses of welcome and reached Kolhapur, laden with honours, on 31st morning. On the way he received a warm welcome from the people of his State at every one of the Stations between Miraj and Kolhapur. The Hatkalangade Municipality was the first to congratulate him on the fifty per cent. reservations Resolution. The Kolhapur Station, this time under greater Police control, presented the appearance of a big Darbar and the crowds of citizens thronged outside the Station as densely as they did when they bade farewell to His Highness, a few months back. When His Highness got down from his saloon, he was accorded a hearty ovation which must have touched him deeply. The City Fathers then presented their address of welcome without forgetting to mention their needs and requirements to which a suitable reply was given and the Maharaja proceeded to the Old Palace through cheering

crowds and richly decorated streets. There His Highness paid his homage to the Palace Deity, Shri Bhavani and Ambabai, the City Goddess. Thence he passed on to the Samadhis of his forefathers on the Punchaganga banks. By the time he reached his usual residence, the New Palace, it was full four hours of a continuous procession spontaneously arranged by his own subjects. " Sunday morning, " said the not very friendly *Samarth*, " was an occasion of universal festivity to the people of Kolhapur. . . . . The concourse of people gathered at the Station and all along the route of His Highness' majestic procession must have reminded His Highness and others of the day of installation." That was the reply, in the words of the *Samarth* itself, which the people of Kolhapur gave to the violent attacks that were being levelled against His Highness by organs of Brahmin opinion.

The various communities entertained His Highness later on in the week in a right royal fashion. The Marathas led the way on September 2. After thanking the community for the splendid reception given to him, His Highness, in his reply to the address, said :—

" The lasting impression received by me during that short period have deepened my gratitude to the British throne and my loyal and respectful attachment to the person of His Most Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor Edward VII. I have had the high privilege of a personal interview with His Majesty and feel quite confident that under His Majesty's benign rule, happiness and prosperity will increase more than ever and the blessings of *Pax Britania* will be enjoyed throughout the British Empire.

" I have watched with the keenest interest the progress the Maratha community has been making of late ; and the Maratha educational society is, no doubt, one of the choicest fruits of that laudable desire for intellectual advancement with which the community has been inspired. History has recorded the glorious deeds of the Marathas in the past, and if

you, gentlemen, move steadily onwards in the path you have chalked out for yourselves, I can assure you that there is certainly a bright future before you."

The address presented by the essentially Brahmin 'Raja ram Club' had a peculiar importance. As was but to be expected, the Club harped upon its non-sectarian character. The argument was deftly turned against those who had used it, thus :—

"Gentlemen, I appreciate very much your remark about the old distinction of caste sinking into oblivion under the influence of the new educational brotherhood brought into being by our drinking at a common fountain of learning. Such distinctions cannot cease to exist unless education is more widely appreciated and spread and the attainment of this object has been my constant aim. So long as there is such a wide range of difference between the educational levels of the various communities, all superficial measures to erase the long-standing distinctions will be of no avail and I am confident that in this light you may be able to interpret correctly the steps taken by me in this direction."

The reply given to the 'People's address' contained a reference to his reception in England which is worth quoting:—

"My reception in England has been indeed most cordial, and I am afraid I cannot adequately express my gratitude for the uniform courtesy and kindness shown to me in England wherever I went. I certainly appreciate very highly the great honour done to me by that distinguished body, the University of Cambridge, and equally renowned institutions. But I value most the high compliment paid to me by that illustrious statesman Lord George Hamilton, to which you have rightly given a prominent place in your address.

"While I really feel very proud of all these honours it is not a source of ordinary gratification to me that in having undertaken this trip to England, I have been able also to carry out the last wishes of my beloved father, the late lamented

Regent of Kolhapur, whose enlightened principles and policy it has always been my ambition to follow.

"Gentlemen, I need hardly mention that I have been most favourably impressed with all I saw in England. I visited many of its public Institutions, and had the opportunity of attending its social and political functions and they have all increased my admiration and regard for the English people. Wherever you may turn your eyes, you cannot fail to be struck with rigid discipline, thorough business-like habits, sterling honesty, love of truth and justice, self-sacrificing public spirit, dogged perseverance and almost chivalrous attention to strangers—qualities which, forming as they do the backbone of English character, afford a key to the miraculous success achieved by that nation in the world. Its tangible results are to be seen in its gigantic public buildings, its magnificent parks and gardens, its underground railways and tunnels, its stupendous bridges, its colossal manufactures, its roaring passenger and vehicular traffic, and the enormous wealth locked up in the grand museum and collections of works of arts and other curiosities bequeathed to the nation by generations of millionaires and to the philanthropic societies founded by the Howards and the Wilberforces. Their name is legion. I cannot describe even faintly in so short a reply what my feelings and impressions have been. I only wish that my stay in England could have been longer. But the dread of scarcity and plague hovering about the borders of my State did not allow me to stay longer. I, however, consider myself very fortunate that both these scourges are, though temporarily, averted and that the present rejoicings are not marred by anxious fears for the future."

But there were other fears no less anxious than these, which the Maharaja had to face. Though he did not mention them as the forces which attracted him to Kolhapur so hurriedly, they were no less active in drawing him back to his capital as soon as he had attended the Coronation.

CHAPTER XII.

The Shankaracharya Math.

The origin of Maths—History adds new functions to them—the evils of the system—the degradation of Kolhapur Math—the Vedokta and the Math—the grants attached—the two Swamis and their fight for the income—a Maratha priesthood suggested—a Kshatriya Jagadguru foreshadowed.

WHILE the Vedokta controversy was in full swing, His Highness had to take the bold step of attaching the Inams of the well-known Math of Shri Shankaracharya Swami at Kolhapur in March 1903. People naturally jumped to the conclusion that this strong action was taken solely for the purpose of bringing the Swami to his knees and compelling him to acknowledge the Kshatriyahood of the Chhatrapati. Many more questions of even greater importance were, however, involved and it could easily be shown that the satisfactory solution of these questions depended in a large measure on the adoption by the Darbar of a firm and courageous remedy. A brief explanation of the idea which the Math embodied and stood for is necessary for a right appreciation of the steps His Highness took in this connection.

In ancient Hindu Society, in fact in all periods of Hindu History prior to the disappearance of Buddhism from India and the revival of modern Hinduism with the Brahmins as its authoritative exponents, the kings were the final authority in deciding all social and religious disputes between caste and caste as well as between individuals and their community. When the first Shankarachaya, the author of the famous Bhashya, established what may be called Puranic Hinduism, a pyramid with the Brahmin as its apex, he is said to have provid-

ed social organisation with his four Maths as the power houses of the machinery devised for social control. All questions, it was claimed, were to be decided according to Shastric interpretations of the presiding ascetics of these Maths and where the Shastras were silent, the Swami's word was law. "If the kings receive taxes on the ground that they are masters of the earth," says the Mathamnaya, the Magna Charta of the Swamis, "the heads of the Mathas do the same on the strength of the religion." "Even the sinners," goes on the same authority, "become purged of their sins and attain heavenly bliss by the orders of punishment issued by the Acharya." These orders of punishment were nothing more or less than fines levied by the Swamis. In support of this claim, the original Shankaracharya quotes Manu and Gautam—two ancient sages—who distinctly lay down that the sinner is freed from his sins by the king as well as by the Acharya. But the inference drawn from this by the author is that the Brahmin Guru—the Acharya—has the sole right to decide all questions of religion, conduct and punishments for sinful actions. The king's authority even as a co-extensive one was thus calmly ignored by the priestly classes. The Kolhapur Branch of the Shankaracharya claimed this jurisdiction over the whole territory between the Malaprabha on the south and the Himalayas on the north. The false step which the Hindu kings took in the mediæval times by accepting for themselves a second place in the social hierarchy, and the Mussalman conquest of India which reduced the Kshatriyas to impotency and adopted for itself a policy of indifference in matters over which these Brahmanic monasteries claimed jurisdiction, paved the way for the success of this Shankarcharyan organisation. The Maratha Kshatriya revival of Shivaji's times attempted to give a shock to the order of things thus established and, for a time, it seemed as if the claim of these Brahmin institutions would be no more urged. The fall of the Mahratta Empire, the rise of the Brahmin power under

the Peshwas and their subsequent overthrow by the British who reverted to the policy of neutrality which amounted in practice to a policy of free scope for the already powerful Brahmin organisation, gave another lease of life to these Maths. During Shahu's reign, the Brahmins appealed to him to decide the dispute then raging round the Prabhus, but when British rule displaced the Peshwas, the times had changed and just because the new Suzerain power did not care to interfere with caste questions, the Brahmin coterie headed by the then Chief of Sangli, applied for adjudication to the Shankaracharaya and not to the Chhatrapati of Kolhapur. The so-called neutrality of the new Government in Maharashtra gave the Brahmins in this as in many other matters an opportunity of which they made full use in the years which followed. The British Courts of justice looked for some indigenous orthodox source of authority and guidance whenever caste questions arose before them. Those who presided over the courts, the British Officers, did not know how Hindu Society had grown in ages past and how the castes had complete autonomy subject only to the commands of the kings. They considered the Brahmin literature as the only literature, the Brahmin interpretations of the Shastras as the only authority, the Brahmin-ordained law as the only law, and the Brahmin decisions in caste questions as the final word in India. It is not my purpose here to show what havoc this theory of Brahminical authority accepted by the British has done during the last hundred years. It is enough to say that it revived many Brahmin institutions which were almost dead and invested them with powers which they had never possessed. The Monasteries or Maths were but centres of learning in ancient times. Superstitious Hindu Kings, with the slavish Sudra mentality induced in them by Brahamnic teachings, gave them the first footing in new fields. With the ignorance of British Judges, the presiding Swamis of the Maths strengthened their own posi-

tion as dispensers of justice in extra-judicial matters. Pious Hindu Kings gave these Maths large estates which enabled their lords, the Swamis, to appear before the credulous Hindu world in full regal state and to invest their orders with a show of royal authority. Highly educated Brahmins helped them to maintain their mythical powers by appearing before them as supplicants for justice. Men like Mr. Ranade and Mr. Tilak pleaded their defence in the Court of the Kolhapur Swami, before whom they were arraigned in the early 'nineties for the offence of drinking tea in the Panch Haud Mission of Poona. Such was the halo of glory, sanctity and authority which surrounded the Math about the time when the Vedokta controversy arose in Kolhapur.

But this was only one side of the shield. In times gone by, the Math was undoubtedly a seat of learning. But for generations past, it had become a source of profit and enjoyment for a few families which had managed to have influence with the Swami. One Bhilvadikar was now the Shankaracharya. Four of his predecessors belonged or were closely related to his family, so that the extensive estate attached to the Math for charitable purposes had become their ancestral family property. A dispute between the Swami's brother—of course the relatives I am mentioning were relatives in the family of the Swami's birth—and the Karbhari or manager led to appeals to the Kolhapur State and to the British Officers at Belgaum to interfere. Both could have moved in the matter. As was soon discovered, huge and palpable misappropriation of the Math property was being carried on in broad daylight. But the blind policy of so-called neutrality —'freedom to misappropriate public funds' would be a more appropriate description of that policy—required a reference of the complaints to the Swami himself for disposal! The Kolhapur State took a different view of its duties in the matter as the major portion of the income enjoyed by these voluptuaries of the Math was a grant in trust made by the rulers of

Kolhapur itself. It was a well known fact that the Math was deep in debt although its landed income exceeded thirty thousand rupees in those days. The inquiry disclosed many startling facts. Sites belonging to the Math were given to the Swami's sons to build houses on. The carpenter, who built the houses for those sons, presumably without receiving any payments, got valuable land in perpetuity and on nominal rent for his services. Brass pots, saris, other valuable clothes, sweets for children, ornaments for the ladies and watches for boys were purchased by the Math for the use of the Swami's sons, daughters, daughters-in-law, sons-in law, &c., &c. Money spent for bangles purchased for the Swami's daughters or for the Garbhadhan (consummation) ceremony of his daughters-in-law and for the thread ceremony of the children born of this Garbhadhan—all this appeared in the account-books of the Math. Other debits of large sums, avowedly for the purchase of articles, were found without corresponding entries in the deadstock books. All valuable articles—gold, silver or silk—had been removed from the Math by these jolly children of the Swami. If no money was on hand when they wanted presents, the Math was ready to incur debts and supply their wishes. A sum exceeding Rs. 8,000 and originally paid to one of the Swami's sons as an amount to be later accounted for, was finally written off as a "loss" in 1895. The Swami's relatives were not content with these occasional gifts and had therefore fixed monthly allowances allotted to them by the generous Swami, and lest the sameness might lead to the detection of this plunder, each son or brother of the Swami was described by a different surname and sometimes the same son took two different gifts in two different surnames. Thus they were sometimes Joshis, sometimes Bhilawadikars, sometimes Jyotishi, at times Buva and often Gosavis! In the full enjoyment of the large property of the Math in this fashion, the Bhilawadikar Swami—the High Priest of Hinduism and the apostle of Vedant Philosophy—had now become old

and the time for making a choice of his successor was slowly coming on. The Swami, therefore, hastened to make a will whereby his three sons were given a perpetual annuity of Rs. 100 each.

All these facts were brought to the notice of His Highness about the end of 1900. Wishing to avoid sudden and drastic action as far as possible, he warned the Swami once; but this only had the effect of tempting the Swami to put forward claims to independence of the Darbar. So long back as August 1863, the Kolhapur Darbar had ordered that the long-established custom of obtaining the Maharaja's previous sanction for the election of the successor Shishya to the Gadi ought to be scrupulously observed by all Maths enjoying grants from the State. The usual course that was being followed by the heads of these Maths besides the Shankaracharya—there were other Maths belonging to a few other Hindu sects which, though of much lesser importance, enjoyed State grants—was that the dying Swamis selected some one from their relatives as their successors primarily with a view to ensure the benefits which their own kith and kin derived from the charitable properties in their charge. The power of the sovereign authority to see that the successor was properly chosen, that the head of the Math discharged the duties attached to the trust of the Math honestly and well, and that, if an unfit person were nominated to succeed, he should be replaced by a better qualified Shishya, has been recognised by all Hindu States. The Mysore Government under its Brahmin management has sanctioned legislation for the control of these Maths in its own State on a much more stringent basis than the Kolhapur Darbar. Even the British Courts have asserted and exercised very analogous rights, although it must be admitted that, being a foreign Government, the Government of India has waived its own rights in this matter. The policy of the British Government is however based not upon a recognition of the claims to complete freedom of the Swamis

from State control but upon grounds of mere expediency arising out of the nature of the present Government in India. Most of the Hindu States, however, have no reason to be deterred from a pursuit of a much more courageous policy in respect of the Hindu Pontiffs who preside over these Maths. The Maharaja therefore decided to move in the matter of the Shankaracharya Math in his State at the time when the successor of the old Swami was nominated.

Bhilawadikar, the existing Swami, at once saw what this would lead to and removing himself to his 'second capital' at Sankeshwar in the Belgaum District, he carried on negotiations with one Brahmanalkar and adopted him as his successor Shishya on February 23, 1903. He did not seek the Maharaja's previous sanction for this step. Indeed, he had consulted some of the Patwardhan (Brahmin) chiefs before selecting Brahmanalkar, but the advice of a 'Sudra' ruler who had already embarked upon a non-Brahmin policy in his State was wholly unwelcome to him. The selected Shishya was a 'strong' Brahmin who had already won the good opinion of Brahmins like Mr. B. G. Tilak. This was a clear challenge to the Kolhapur Darbar. Its right to control the selection in order to secure a proper successor was openly denied. When the Maharaja received the news, he decided that the step taken by Bhilawadikar was null and void and having parted with his powers, he had ceased to have any claim over the properties of the Math, which had therefore to be held under attachment pending the determination of a successor to the Math. This was in March 1903.

The Maharaja describes his own position in May 1903 :—

"I did not trouble you in my last letter about Bs. I wish the reason was what you suggested. Another question has now cropped up which is creating a great stir, I mean the withholding my sanction to the new Jagadguru. I shall soon send you the history of the whole case. You will see from it that he has treated the Darbar with great insult. The

Jagadguru occupies only the position of a trustee and cannot give away or mortgage his estate and yet he has done both. In order to prevent such abuse, the Darbar thought it necessary to exercise control in the choice of a successor to the seal of Shankaracharya just as the Mysore Darbar has done in the case of Shringeri Swami who is considered even of greater importance than the occupant of this Math. I have heard that the Swami is not going to stir personally in this matter but, which is worse, will create agitation throughout the Deccan and force my hands indirectly. The Ns. of Poona will of course assist him heart and soul for two reasons; firstly, because they are his creditors and will lose the village held by them as they know that the property of the Swami is of the nature of a trust and, secondly, they will lose the ecclesiastical power over which they have now an indirect control. Thus the present case has caused greater discontent among the B. Community, especially as the ecclesiastical power will slip from the hands of the Tilak and Natu's party."

While the so-called Jagadguru was proceeding on the lines described above, the Vedokta question had been referred to the authorities of the Math by certain Brahmins of Kolhapur who were being harassed by their community for favouring the Maharaja's party. Brahmanalkar's selection was based among other things upon his known opinion that the Chhatrapatis were not entitled to the rights of Kshatriyaship. The Brahmin world in the Deccan applauded him to the skies for this attitude towards the burning social question of those days. Deprived of the Kolhapur Math property, the Swami still held the Sankeshwar property of the Math, as it was situate in British India where the Government looked at these questions with supreme indifference. That property, however, was no good to Brahmanalkar. His old Guru was still dragging on. The only interest he took in the affairs of this world was in his own relatives for whom he found the reduced incomes of the Math at Sankeshwar

too small and insufficient. On the one hand, therefore, he insisted that his Shisya should roam about in the Deccan and screw out as much money as possible from the public with the Brahmin section of which, on account of his anti-Vedokta tendencies, he was popular. This served the double purpose of leaving him free to misappropriate the British Indian properties and of expecting some augmentation of his resources by the Shishya who was expected to defray his own expenses and remit to the Guru any surplus that might be left on hand. The arrangement did not work well for a long time. In Poona, Mr. Tilak received Brahmanalkar in full state. Receptions, processions, feet-worships, theological expositions and donations came in quick succession all over the Maharashtra. The hero of the Brahmins, the arch-opponent of the Sudra King's fatuitous ambitions to become a Kshatriya,—the glorious embodiment of Brahmin supremacy—Brahmanalkar was carried in triumphal processions wherever he went. He wrote letters to his Guru enlivened with stories of these brilliant successes. The Maharaja might attach his grants. But here was the Shishya who despised those gifts and lived on merrily, the idol of the Brahman world. But the Guru expected some money from all these tours, which however did not come in the expected profusion. On the contrary, flushed with success, Brahmanalkar began to assert himself as the Jagadguru. This displeased the Guru. Had Brahmanalkar continued to share his profits with his Guru, there would not have been any further trouble between the two. The Guru began to be restive. The Shishya began to be indignant.

The root cause of this trouble was obviously enough the want of money. The Guru, therefore, turned his eyes to the lost Inam in Kolhapur and the accumulated profits therefrom which the State held under attachment. The right to Vedokta, through the Guru, could be rightly sold for those profits. Negotiations were immediately set on foot.

As long as the two so-called ascetics were pulling on well, the one getting plenty of fees from the people and the other getting a share of it for his own use, neither the one nor the other cared for the Kolhapur Darbar and its grants to the Math. Thus, for instance, when in Septembrr 1903, a dispute arose about Mr. Rashinkar's social relations and the Darbar had to prevent his entry into the Ambabai Temple, the Guru referred the question to his Shishya for decision. Confident that the Shishya would not side with the Darbar, he also forwarded to him applications from Kolhapur for decision as to whether the Maharaja was a Kshatriya or not. A few days later, however, the Guru began to think of augmenting his resources by securing the Kolhapur property for himself. After feeling his way a little by conversations through representatives, he wrote to Brahmanalkar (on December 4, 1903) that the Darbar's attitude towards the Math was not one of obstinate refusal to yield and that he (the Guru) should be authorised by the Shishya to decide the Kolhapur matters as he pleased. The Maharaja might also be informed, the letter added, that the Guru's decision would be binding upon the Shishya. The letter makes it clear that the Swami was trying to negotiate peace with His Highness since the end of 1903. For six months more no progress was, however, made as Brahmanalkar did not give a satisfactory reply and evaded parting with the power that rested with him. In June 1904, the Guru found it necessary to approach the mountain since that mountain was not going to approach him. He went and encamped at Kalamba, a distance of barely two miles from Kolhapur. Between the 15th and 22nd of that month, the Swami and the Maharaja met there and had a short but frank discussion on the Vedokta question, a favourable decision on which was expected by the Swami to bring him back the attached grants.

The Maharaja was given the dress of honour, and an Ashirwad (blessing) in the true Vedokta fashion was also

pronounced as an earnest of the Swami's *bona fide* desire to give the Maharaja the rights of Kshatriyaship. But all this would end in mere smoke if the Shishya refused to endorse the Guru's views. It was known that the Shishy awas in| league with the Poona politicians who did not wish that their Swami should yield so easily. So the need of obtaining Brahmanalkar's consent to the decision was urged upon the Guru who had thus to return to Sankeshwar with his mission only half finished. The Shishya came to know of these secret proceedings in due course. Who was then to consent to the Vedokta and win back the Kolhapur income ? At one time both were unwilling to agree to the Maharaja's claims. But since it was necessary to secure the profits, both of them began to run a race for the prize. Each one was trying to put the other off the scent by professing to be unwilling to accept the Kshatriyaship of the Bhosales. When the Guru was at Kalamba, the Kolhapur Brahmins felt very uneasy as they fully knew their own man, the Swami. It was to them a great relief that he went away without pronouncing his judgment in the Vedokta Case. They took comfort to themselves from the thought, though only based on a rumour, that the Swami would not press for the recovery of his own Inams and would not think of the Vedokta until the Darbar restored all the property it had resumed or attached from others on this account. They little knew what really stood between the Guru and the Vedokta order.

The Guruswami was informed in July 1904 that Mr. B. G. Tilak would visit Sankeshwar in August and have a discussion with him. The object of the visit has only to be inferred from the circumstances of the case. Was he going to exert his influence for or against the recognition of the Maharaja's rights ? That the Guru required no advice in favour of the Maharaja was known to all who had any knowledge of him and much more so, to Brahmanalkar and his friend Mr. Tilak. The probability therefore was that Mr.

Tilak's promised visit was intended only to steady the waverer at Sankeshwar and possibly to bring about a compromise between the two Swamis, the difference in whose aims was now disclosing itself in many inconvenient forms.

Nothing definite came out until 1st May 1905 when Bhilawadikar requested Brahmanalkar to see him at Sankeshwar. He had found himself incapable of taking any step in the matter without the previous sanction of Brahmanalkar and was therefore compelled to try and see if he could prevail upon Brahmanalkar to authorise himself in the Vedokta matter. "When we meet personally," says he to his Shishya on May 1, 1905, "we shall discuss the future course of action with reference to Kolhapur, etcetera." Instead of meeting him as desired, Brahmanalkar placed himself on the north-eastern borders of Kolhapur and commenced his own negotiations with the Darbar without consulting Bhilawadikar. The reason was obvious. A large sum of money lay in the Kolhapur Treasury as the profits of the attached property and if he was to authorise the Guru to settle the Kolhapur matters, that precious amount would pass into *his* hands and find its way into the hands of *his* numerous sons and daughters. The alternative before Brahmanalkar was to strike the bargain himself, agree to all the terms of the Darbar and be the master of the splendid estate in Kolhapur attached to the Math there. The net result of this saw the light of day on July 10, 1905, when Brahmanalkar decided that the Bhosales were Kshatriyas and had full rights to the Vedokta ritual.*

Another important consideration which weighed with the two claimants to the Math property is yet to be told.

* During the course of an attempt to bring about a compromise between Brahmanalkar and Mirjakar Swami who was the second Shishya of Bilawadikar in January 1908, it was declared on the authority of Mr. V. S. Phatak, who I know is an extremely straightforward gentleman, that, Bhilawadikar was in fact willing to concede the Vedokta to the Maharaj and that the real cause of the two Swamis falling out was the appropriation of the Kolhapur property by Brahmanalkar to himself. If confirmation of what I have said above is needed, it is here.

Now they saw that the time had come when they were bound to submit to the inevitable. The faint glimmering of hope which had kept up the spirits of the Rajopadhye Party had disappeared for ever by the rejection of the Rajopadhye's application to the Government of India in May 1905. Both the Swamis were probably awaiting the result of this final effort of the Rajopadhye and when they found that further delay would not help them in any way, the Guruswami thought of this conversation " about the future line of action about Kolhapur affairs." It is said on the authority of those who knew the Guru's mind that he was even ready at the time to share the accumulated money with his Shishya, so that he might have no reason to hesitate in consenting to the Vedokta. The office of the " Priest Royal" was transferred by the Maharaja to another priestly family, that of the Joshirao with an emolument of Rs. 250 per mensem. To all appearances, therefore, the Rajopadhye had failed for good and to hold out any further was of no use to the calculating Swamis. The Brahmins might find themselves disillusioned, and those who were hitherto praising both the Swamis for their rumoured refusal even to consider the Vedokta question or their own Inams until the Rajopadhye and his comrades were restored to their incomes would find themselves sadly mistaken. But the die had been cast and Brahmanalkar had to await the result.

In justice to the few liberal-minded Brahmins who took a long view of the matter, I must not fail to mention that Shri Balasaheb, the Senior Chief of Kurundwad, discountenanced the unwise policy of the Swami. Not only did he give an open admission that the Maharaja was a Kshatriya, but he tried even to dissuade the Guru from what he was doing. He wrote in 1906 to the Maharaja :—" I was reprimanded by the Guru Swami, but I flatly replied that unless he proves in the open meeting of learned and important Shastris that his disciple has committed what is not

allowed by Shastras, I won't obey the order of Guru Swami, but neither Shishya Swami nor his brother nor Mr. Hudlikar have informed me of what had been done. I am up to this time on the side of Shishya Swami, but everything must be done rightly and legally. Otherwise loose proceedings won't be successful in the long run. The *new* would-be Shishya Swami had come to take my sanction but I flatly replied to him in the negative. As long as I am right by legal way, I am resolved not to leave the side of your Highness."

It should also be confessed that this type of Brahmin was a rarity. As a rule, they were either actively anti-Vedokta or at the best passively sympathetic towards His Highness' opponents. And those who were better had neither the influence nor the courage to denounce the follies of their brethren.

After a full and unqualified apology for the irregularity in his nomination which Brahmanalkar tendered after some time, His Highness restored the attached property to the Swami who henceforward became the lawful and recognised Head of the Math at any rate in Kolhapur. Bhilawadikar was, however, in no mood to accept this defeat at the hands of his own Shishya. He waited for a few months and tried to obtain for himself at least a part of the profits from Brahmanalkar, but this time too he failed in his attempts. His next move was to pose before the Brahmin world as a martyr who had sacrificed his all for the sacred cause of denying the Sudra king a higher status than was his due. This *volte face* on his part was quietly if not joyfully accepted by them for the simple reason that it gave them a stick with which to beat the renegade Brahmanalkar Swami. Backed by some prominent Brahmins including a well-known ruling chief, the Guru issued on November 13, 1905, a notice cancelling the powers which he had given to Brahmanalkar who, however, replied that after having nominated him as a Jagadguru, the Guru had no power remaining with him

and the notice was, therefore, *ultra vires.* In April following (1906), the irresponsible Guru convicted Brahmanalkar of the offence of disobedience and sentenced him to excommunication and dismissed him from office. So the fight went on until the death of the Guru a few months later. Lest the quarrels might cease with his death, the Guru adopted another successor to his Gadi, and even to-day, the law courts in British India are engaged in determining which of the two successors is the lawful one.

The Brahmins all over the Maharashtra received the news of Brahmanalkar's defection with feelings of indignant despair. Our usual guide to the core of their heart, the *Samarath*, said :—" It is needless here to narrate in full detail how in consequence of the choice of this individual (Brahmanalkar) without the regular sanction of the Darbar, lands of the Jagadguru under Kolhapur were attached, how overtures which proved ineffectual were made to the old Guru who chose the present disciple to succeed him after death, how the disciple was authorised to make a tour and decide questions on their merits, *how he talked loud and bold about the untenable pretensions of His Highness and others, how he was lionised by people of the Maharashtra, the 'Kesari' and 'Kal' among these,* and how ultimately this disciple threw off the veil of the blustering role of impartiality and imperturbability and quietly gave from a village in His Highness's territory a decision in favour of His Highness, got the lands released in his own name and lastly how at the row made by Brahmans at various places in the British territory, he, this now revolting Swami, was deposed and excommunicated by the Guru, who had adopted him in the regular way."

The chief merit of this long and bombastic extract consists in the history of the man to whom this self-same writer and his community were asking His Highness all these years to appeal for a decision on the Vedokta question! The

Maharaja fully knew the worth of the pronouncement in his favour which the one made and the other was ready to make. In his heart of hearts, he was sick of the pretensions of these Swamis to a right to dictate their own sweet and unfettered will to the whole Hindu world of diverse castes and sects. He saw how alien in spirit and sympathy they were. Experience showed to him in an unmistakable manner how their sole motive in these matters was to secure some gain to themselves or, worse still, to their own relatives who made the Math their own family estate. The worst of it was that it placed the non-Brahmin communities in a very humiliating position by making a greedy and selfish Brahmin the arbiter of the social destinies of the despised non-Brahmin. In a society such as he saw around him, he saw no possibility of the services of a socio-religious head being dispensed with for a long time to come. By habits and traditions, every Hindu caste looked upon the Math as the natural court of social justice, and if it did not have such a court of its own, it fell as surely as the night follows the day into the nets of the Brahmanical organisation. The experiences which he gained in connection with the Shankaracharya Math slowly led him to the conclusion that the only way to free the non-Brahmin Hindus from the clutches of the priesthood was to create a new priesthood from the non-Brahmins themselves. Thus in February (22nd), 1904, he tells his friend Mr. E. at Bombay :—" An idea is amongst us that we might have priests of our castes just as the Daivadnya Goldsmiths have. The Senoys (Shenvis) have also made similar arrangements and they have fared very well without the Bs, but on the other hand some of us urge that we must induce the Bs to perform the religious ceremonies and avoid the permanent fracas between us. But on the other side are quoted the instances of Lingayats and Jains who have thrown off the Brahmin yoke and are flourishing like the Sonars and Senoys."

In March (3rd), 1904, His Highness writes to another friend Mr. N. thus :—" Some of us are of opinion that we should have priests of our own caste and should once for all throw off the Brahmin yoke and thrive like the Senoys, Jains and Sonars who have done so. I am trying to make up matters with the Jagadguru but he openly said that all the rights we have were got by bribing the great priests. So I do not think I may be very successful."

This letter suggests a significant point of view from which His Highness was forced to look at the matter in these early years. The Brahmanical priesthood—the Jagadguru was their head, the High Priest—had been playing loose and fast with the non-Brahmin castes from times almost immemorial. When circumstances forced them, they yielded a point or two in favour of them. The methods chosen by them were as varied as the circumstances. Sometimes the stress of political expediency forced their hands. In spite of all their intrigues and arrogance, the priesthood of the Mahratta Empire had to yield at any rate to all appearances to their claims to a higher social status. For instance, even after the death of Shahu, the Peshwas themselves addressed the Kolhapur Chhatrapatis as " the ornaments of the Kshatriya families." When the Guruswami Bhilawadikar was negotiating peace with His Highness in his Kalamba Camp, he appealed to him to relinquish the attached or resumed estates of the Brahmins, because, as he said, the Kshatriya ruler ought not to take back what he had given away. Sometimes they found that their fiats were respected more in their breach than in obedience to them, and they turned round and pretended to cancel them through their disingenuous, so-called interpretations. Sometimes again lucre induced them to run counter to their settled policy of degrading other communities and then they liberally issued certificates of merit or status to the community which satisfied their greed. The Karajgars or Jingers can, for instance,

point out a hundred admissions to their superior caste-status from heads of Maths and Brahmavrindas, but even before the ink with which they were written was dry, the community found that they were not a whit better situated by the acquisition of those certificates. That had been the experience of the Kshatriya Marathas too for centuries past. In the case of the Vedokta itself, when Joshirao consented to officiate at Vedokta rites in the Palace, he was condemned as a greedy man whose opinion was worthless. Bramhanalkar Swami, who was admittedly hailed as the champion of religion, was damned as a self-seeker the moment he accepted the Maharaja's contentions. So was Gagabhat, a priest who officiated at Shivaji's coronation, held to reprobation as soon as the Brahmins found that he went against their views. A final settlement of any social question was thus impossible under the regime of this priesthood and His Highness rightly complained that every success in controversies with Brahmins became useless as soon as it was won. It was much better to deal with a more kindred, more sympathetic and less elusive priesthood, which a priesthood from one's own caste was bound to be. The history of the Catholic priesthood in Europe may be urged against this view. His Highness fully realised that in the very nature of things a priesthood was most likely to be arrogant and depressing. But when the time came for him to take definite action, he took steps to guard against the danger of the new priests becoming imperious or mystical and therefore intellectually demoralising. That point we shall reach later on. It may, however, be noted here that in a community which believes in the necessity of a priestly agency the question is not if you can do away with it, but whether the present alien—because ex-caste—priesthood should be continued, or a new, better, more submissive and less powerful organisation should be created in its stead. Granting the premise that the society demands it, is it not

more expedient to allow or welcome a substitution of the existing rigid and dominating priesthood which despises the non-Brahmins as inferior by birth by a priesthood which could not claim caste superiority and, therefore, could not exercise the same demoralising influence? His Highness had not apparently fully developed his ideas at the time we are dealing with in this place. Nor would it be proper for me to anticipate the progress of his ideas. It is enough here to trace the origin of the idea of a separate 'caste-priesthood,' as we may call it, and a Kshatriya Jagadguru and leave its fuller evolution to a future chapter when we shall have understood the bearings of the intervening incidents on the question which the two letters quoted above opens up to the reader's view.

It will be interesting to compare this phase of the Maharaja's mind with what was transpiring in the same connection in the opposite camp. The ultimate success of the Maharaja in his fight with the Rajopadhye and the Jagadguru Shankaracharya roused the other aristocratic Maratha families throughout the Deccan from their wonted attitude of real or pretended indifference to the progress of the Kolhapur controversy. The boys who received their training in the Maratha and other hostels and the men who breathed in the atmosphere of Kolhapur so fully surcharged with the electric currents of non-Brahmin awakening became each a force in his own sphere. When these men went outside Kolhapur and settled there, new centres were created from which the non-Brahmin movement was to grow a few years later. The immediate effect of the agitation in Kolhapur on the contiguous Districts in British India was that educated Marathas in many places began to claim rites similar to those claimed by the Maharaja. The Brahmins had tried before to damn the Maharaja's case for Vedokta by the allegation that he was unnecessarily mixing up his own claims with those of many other Marathas who had no justification

to plead. His reply, as we have seen, was that though his own case must be judged on *its* own merits, the claims of others who might also be Kshatriyas could by no means be resisted or avoided. Writing in August 1906, the *Samarth* plaintively says :—"Besides every Maratha is now trying to perform Vedokta ceremonies. The Belgaum Marathas performed their Shravani at the hands of Brahmins imported from Thana. One does not know what will follow if one of the Swamis sanctions this trouble. If the local (*i.e.* Bramhanalkar) Swami consents to this, he will become the Swami of the Kshatriyas . . . . . In this way there will be a confusion of all castes and an obstacle will be created in the way of national progress."

I have nothing to do with this usual croaker except to show that the dogged attitude of the Brahmins was apparently driving a wedge between themselves and the non-Brahmins—a fact which could not fail to strike even a bigoted advocate of theirs. It was the natural result of that bigotry as experienced by the non-Brahmins in the Vedokta days which brought the Satya Shodahk, the Arya Samaj and the Kshatriya Jagadguru movements to the front in a close and logical succession.

CHAPTER XIII.

His Highness' horsemanship—His paddock—Coffee-plantation—The Shahupuri—The *Sudharak* assisted—Imperial Service Troops—The old attitude of the Feudatories—The Treaty position—The Kharita of 1903—Its meaning.

FROM his early boyhood, the Maharaja was fond of animals and took the keenest interest in their upkeep and breeding. This was an inheritance to him from his father, Jayasing Rao Abasaheb, whose love for horses and dogs was so great that he is said to have neglected his text books while a student and his teachers could bring him to his books only by exchanging the school-texts for literature dealing with the subjects which he liked so well. I am also told that this excessive attachment to animals cost Abasaheb the Throne of Kolhapur; for it is said—with what correctness I do not know—Babasaheb Maharaja preferred the son of his second sister to him on the ground that the latter—Shri Rajaram Maharaja—was more studious and less given to horses and dogs. I should think that the principal motive for the choice was that Abasaheb was by birth the Chief of a State like Kagal and the preferred nephew was only the son of a comparatively much smaller Sirdar of the State. In any case it is true that Abasaheb's love for animals was so genuine that his undoubtedly remarkable culture grew out of the wise turn which his teachers gave to it by directing it into literary channels. Mr. Fraser has told us already that, while at Dharwar the Maharaja showed signs of his having fully inherited this trait of his father's character. The fiercer the animal, the more did he like it. Shortly after his accession, he drove such a wild set of mares that his friends were most anxious about his safety. Against their advice

and entreaties, he was once driving a spirited team of horses over the hills and dales at Chinchali with the result that he fell into a fence of prickly pear. His horses, carriage, he himself and all were so badly hurt that his other companions were afraid of his very life. But when they got near him, they found that he was quietly sitting down to pick some of the numerous prickles from his body which the doctors took about half a week to remove wholly out of him. Many years afterwards, while at Delhi, he learnt of a tigress in a Circus having killed her tamer. Instantly he took her from the manager who was going to shoot her and tamed her so well that, at Kolhapur, she would roar and roar for her attendant who had to sleep in her cage to induce her to follow suit. "How did you do this ?" asked a friend. "The Circus people wished to win her by terrorising her. But I gave her love and through love, subdued her ferocity," was his reply. The late Rajasaheb of Akalkote, his brother's son-in-law, asked him in 1921 at Delhi to give him a fine dog which was with the Maharaja. The reply could not be otherwise than in the affirmative. An hour or two later, the Raja went to the Maharaja's room and found the dog lying on the beautifully cushioned sofa while his master the Maharaja was lying on an humble rude-looking cot. "What does this mean?" asked the astonished Chief. "This is how I like to treat my dog. You may take it with you," said the Maharaja. "No." was the Chief's reply, "I do not wish to deprive the poor animal of this luxury when I do not hope to give it any thing like it myself."

The State Paddock could not fail to attract His Highness soon after his accession. His personal interest in its development turned it into a living institution serving as a model for cattle-breeding. The Paddock is thus described :—

"The State Paddock is situated about 2½ miles to the South-East of the Town. The building has an accommodation for 75 animals, including 27 loose-boxes for brood-mares.

The quarters for the superintendent and servants and a small dispensary are also provided. The Paddock is divided into two parts, new and old, where the animals are let loose, there being plenty of good grass and water for them. A few grass-sheds to shelter the animals and water tubs are placed to supply them with water when they feel the necessity for it. At the ringing of a bell, the animals are taught to run to the stables at regular hours where they are groomed and given their usual feed of corn while at other times they are let loose to enjoy the full advantage of exercise in the open air. At present there are 21 brood-mares, 10 colts, 9 fillies, 1 teaser, 1 Australian stallion and 1 Persian donkey in the Paddock. The number of stallions in the State is four, 2 English T.B., 1 Australian and 1 Arab. A new shed for the accommodation of four stallions being erected close to the Paddock and will shortly be ready for use. During the five years from 1899 to 1903 the Paddock bred 36 colts and 33 fillies, the average being 14 per year."

A story is told of His Highness' personal interest in this Paddock which illustrates as much his fondness for his animals as the powerful memory he possessed. While riding back from Narsobawadi, he met on the way a bullock cart to which he thought one of the bulls in his Paddock was yoked. Instantly he stopped the cart and asked how the driver got that bull. He was told that it was the cartman's own bull. His Highness began to insist that it belonged to the State Paddock and not being satisfied with the answer he asked him whom he purchased the bull from. Taking the name of the vendor, he sent for him at Kolhapur and on inquiry found that it was the breed of a bull in his Paddock which explained the mysterious likeness between that bull and the one he remembered to belong to the Paddock.

Lord Lamington who visited Kolhapur in 1904 saw the excellent work being done in the Paddock and eulogised it heartily. He also congratulated His Highness on his interest

in agriculture. The Administration Reports of the State give full testimony to this. In the very first year of his reign, he started the coffee plantation experiment in his State with the hope that, if successful, it might enable the ryots of the barren soil in the Ghat area to utilise their resources to some advantage.

In 1894-95, we are told that "an experiment of raising a coffee plantation without artificial irrigation has been undertaken by the Forest Department on a small scale during the current season; and Pendakhale in Panhala Peta, a hill slope with a northern aspect which is comparatively cooler, in a perfectly sheltered ravine and at a moderate distance from the Ghats, with a deep virgin forest soil and at the same time with an ample scope for extension, has been selected for this purpose. About 2,000 seedlings brought from Panhala, covering an area of about 1½ acres, were planted with the first monsoon showers in June last in accordance with method pursued in Mysore and a Nursery has also been formed for raising seedlings for the next year's planting. These plants have come up vigorously and now present a healthy green appearance."

The very next year, an Indian aloe plantation was added.

"Coffee was planted at Panhala and Bhudargad during the year under report in about 15 acres of land and the produce obtained therefrom was 276 lbs. and the income Rs. 287-8-0. Last year the area occupied by the coffee plantation was about 14 acres; during the year under report 1 acre and 10 gunthas of land at Turukwad was taken by order of the Huzur for coffee plantation, and the plants are reported to be thriving.

The planting of the Indian aloe, which besides being valuable fibre-plant, serves the purpose of a tolerably good fence and is useful to making the line of Forest boundaries, was further carried on, on a large scale. The years aloe-planting, together with that done in previous year, makes up a total length of 37 miles."

A third direction in which His Highness now began experimenting was the Roshan Oil Industry. In 1899-1900, it is referred to thus :—"Owing to the failure of later rains, the Ganjan grass from which Roshan Oil is extracted did not grow well and therefore the experiment of extracting the Oil could not be carried on, on a large scale. It was tried at two places and 24 shers (48 lbs.) of oil were obtained. The quality of the oil is superior to that of the last year and it is expected to fetch Rs. 2-8-0 per sher. Thus, it will be seen that the industry is capable of development and is expected to be profitable."

It may not be out of place here to say a word about the thriving suburb of Shahupuri—a fitting memorial to Shahu Maharaja—which was an established and successful fact in 1905. Though the idea was as old as 1895, it was not taken up seriously until 1902. Within a couple of years, the barren plains around the Railway Station were turned into a valuable emporium of the Kolhapur State, attracting to itself considerable trade in the export of jagree, groundnut and similar agricultural produce which consequently rose in their market value and contributed to the expansion of sugarcane cultivation in the Konkan tracts and increased the wealth of the ryots on that side. The quantity of sugar and jagree (out of which the first was only inconsiderable) export from Kolhapur Station which means the Shahupuri Market in 1921, the last year of His Highness, was 470,224 maunds which was worth approximately Rs. 30,00,000. In 1894-95, the same article as exported was valued at Rs. 6 lakhs. This is enough to show at a glance the increased wealth of the agricultural population in the State.

Then again :—

" I had a good day yesterday when I had been to Kurundwad. On my way back I performed two opening ceremonies—one of a Cotton Mill near the Shirol Road Station and the

other at Narsoba's Wadi of a Dharmashala. I enjoyed the trip very much."

This is in May 1905. I give it as an illustration of the various activities His Highness was engaged in all these years of busy fighting for educational and social reform. I might go on in this strain almost *ad infinitum*. But though that is not necessary I must not omit one or two more incidents. On learning that the Satara Branch of his family was in difficulties he volunteered to help it. Thus he says in a letter, dated January 17, 1906 :—"I had sent my Diwan to Satara to see if among the articles for sale there was anything of historical value and also, if possible, to have a look at the jewelry. It seems Annasaheb wishes to show the jewelry personally. I would not trouble if he is coming simply for this though it would give me very great pleasure to see him and have a talk with him on his affairs. I learn you are taking very keen interest in the business and working at it as if it were your own. This is very much appreciated everywhere. I know, however, that it is a thankless task. The younger brother is, I am afraid, being misled by the old clever* * * who followed him here last week. I learn that it is contemplated to take a loan from Mr. P.M. and keep all things with him. However that may be, it is my earnest desire that the two brothers should be kept aloof from that old man and the influence of his class. It is said, stupid ideas are being put into their heads for instance, that, they will get any help from Bengal. This is as absurd as it is mischievous. Even their relations and caste people are not coming to their help and it might easily be imagined if the outsiders would do anything more than talking to him. I am writing this very candidly to you as I know you are working heartily in the best interest of the family. I can very well imagine your difficulties and sympathise with you as the few hours I had with that old man made me quite sick of him. It would be well if the family could possibly be weaned from such influence. May I make

one request that the jewelry, if it cannot be sold, may be kept in my custody by way of security till the debt is paid off. This may save the jewelry from being tampered with by Sawkars and the servants."

The *Sudharak* or *Reformer* was a weekly vernacular newspaper published in Poona; and under the editorship of its originator, Principal G. G. Agarkar, than whom a nobler soul was never born among the Deccan Brahmins, it was a great power in Maharashtra in the early nineties. Its old glories had become a matter of history and it had now to eke out a very unhappy existence. Its old clientele had been metamorphosed by the growing influence of its rival, the *Kesari*, under Mr. Tilak. Those on whose shoulders the mantle of Agarkar had fallen could not keep pace with the advance of time with the result that the *Sudharak*, once so popular, had to rely on help from the true reformers who had taken the place of the older band under Ranade and Agarkar. New problems had arisen demanding from Agarkar's successors a readiness to grapple with entirely novel circumstances. In the days of the Ranades and Agarkars, the Non-Brahmin public was but sleepy and the problems which absorbed them naturally arose from the application of the principles of liberalism to the social conditions among the Brahmins, and similar literary communities. Widow marriage, enforced disfigurement of widows, education of women, love-marriages and questions of this nature only cropped up in those good old days and the early Brahmin followers of the Sudharak School in the Maharashtra set themselves to answering them in all their ardent love of liberal ideas. But the public they addressed themselves to attached little value of these questions as they felt much more enamoured of the gospel of political extremism which Mr. Tilak was then vehemently preaching. Social reform or the application of western theories of life to Indian life was to this generation of educated or semi-educated Brahmins either useless or unnecessary or mischievous

inasmuch as it meant a deathblow to their own predominance over other communities. Do away with the foreigners first and social evils will be done away with afterwards. This was the utmost that their sympathy for a more just and equitable social structure could be induced to admit. The men who now posed as Sudharaks or reformers had neither the boldness of thought nor the breadth of vision which could teach them to understand the new social reform movement which was slowly but surely gathering strength. If they had cast their eyes towards the Non-Brahmins who required reform for their very existence and were therefore wedded to liberal and democratic ideals of social life, if they but realised what potentialities lay within the Sattya Shodhak or Vedokta movements whose only *raison d'etre* was an aspiration towards a higher life, if they could but imagine what currents were struggling upwards to the surface of the sea of the Non-Brahmin masses for the purpose of revolutionising the iniquitous social institutions of Hinduism though as yet they had only produced ripples on the otherwise calm face of the deep waters, they could have guided the social movements of their earlier Gurus like Ranade and Agarkar into a vigorous and successful national movement. The result would have been that the political extremism which swept them off the board would have been effectively counteracted and the Non-Brahmin movement would never have borne the tinge of anti-Brahmanism which it now unavoidably does. But alas! the 'would have been' never was and the so called *Sudharak* of Agarkar was being starved to death. His Highness had a great admiration for the memory of the Ranades and Agarkars and tried to lend his helping hand to their Marathi organ. In acknowledging the assistance His Highness gave, Mr. V. R. Joshi, the then editor of the paper wrote in July 1906 :—

"Many thanks for your kindness in sending the sum of.... on account of His Highness Chhatrapati Maharaja in aid of the

Sudharak. I shall be ever grateful to you for the kindness. Thanking His Highness for the princely gift he has given."

Critics of a later day who fell foul of the Maharaja for the assistance he gave to the Non-Brahmin periodicals some years after this might look at his action in the light of facts like this which show that something beyond an anti-Brahmin spirit impelled him to generosity towards liberal literary ventures conducted by the Brahmins themselves but requiring his helping hand.

A question of the utmost importance not only for Kolhapur and other States but the whole of India was raised about this time by the then Viceroy, Lord Curzon. Of necessity I have to omit the confidential portions of the correspondence which he started with the Kolhapur State as well as others. The question he asked the Princes to answer for themselves was "whether a Chief should acknowledge the obligation—subject to the conditions I have named—of expending a certain proportion of gross revenue—and if so, what proportion—in furthering the cause of imperial defence." The idea apparently underlying the question was the evolution of a confederation of forces from British India and the Indian States for the defence of the Indian Empire and the chief Princes in the country were asked to answer the question as much in their own as in the Imperial interests. The scheme propounded by Lord Curzon in April 1904 was known as the Imperial Service Troops scheme. It was not, however, a new idea, Hyderabad, Mysore, Kashmere, Alwar, Bikaner, Bharatpur, Gwalior, Indore, Bhopal, Bhavnagar, Junagad, Patiala and a few other States had already given effect to it and had established in their own principalities Troops of this kind. But till 1904 the total strength of these Troops scattered over 23 States did not exceed 16,000 men all told and if the contribution of the Indian States to Imperial defence was to be in the right proportion, it was thought that advance

should be made. Strictly speaking, the Treaties which defined the relations between the States and the Government released the former from every responsibility in the matter in return for certain conditions imposed on their foreign relations and for the tributary alienations of territories or otherwise which the Treaties effected at the time they were entered into. Without mutual agreement, nothing could therefore be done. The Maharaja was heartily willing to advance as far as possible and in consultation with persons concerned, he expressed his own willingness to hand over the Kolhapur Infantry on certain conditions to the S.M.C. Chiefs and with the savings thus effected, he wished to maintain one or more Cavalry units in Kolhapur. The S.M.C. Chiefs held a conference in February 1905 with Colonel Ferris as their chairman and the conclusions there arrived at seemed for a time to give an assurance of their co-operation with the Kolhapur Darbar in making the scheme fruitful. But later events whose bearings on the relations of Kolhapur with the S.M.C. Chiefs may be to some extent gathered from other chapters of this work, brought it to a standstill which ultimately changed into a failure of the scheme in 1910. The Chiefs, it seems, insisted on each one having the troops, paid for by him, in his own little State and wished to be each the commander of his own little portion. Hoping sanguinely that the idea would soon materialise, Shrimant Bapusaheb spent many months in British Military Camps and with his usual singleness of purpose, applied himself to the required training. The Government recognised his work in this and other directions and conferred a C.I.E. on him on January 1, of 1905 and a C.S.I. some time later.

The feudatory Jahagirdars of Kolhapur have already been mentioned in connection with the Treaty of 1862 (Chapter II). Some of them at any rate were trying for generations to get the better of the Darbar by every means open to them. We have seen how circumstances favoured

the growth of this un-loyal spirit in them. Being related with the Peshwas by marriage, the Ghorpades of Ichalkaranji were often at war with Kolhapur and led the movement of the Jahagirdars. Meherban Babasaheb, the present Jahagirdar of that place, is a man of considerable education and culture. But from the outset he took an exaggerated view of his own position as a Feudatory of Kolhapur and tried to ignore as far as possible his subordination to the Darbar. At the Delhi Darbar of 1902, he was bound to appear as a member of His Highnes's Court occupying his proper place there. But being then a Member of the Bombay Legislative Council he had received an invitation along with others and wished to be at the Darbar in his own position independently of the Chhatrapati. He would not even pitch his tents along with those of the feudatories and at the place allotted to him in the Delhi Camp of His Highness. This necessitated some disagreeable action which compelled him to take his right position.

Another illustration of the spirit of the feudatories is mentioned by Col. Reeves. I will cite his own words :—

" The first remark I would make with reference to the narrative of the management of the feudatories' estates as set forth in the accounts given is that the items under the heads of ' Other Receipts ' or ' Other Expenditure ' are large. In the case of Vishalgad it amounts to over ten thousand rupees under sub-heading debts and deposits. The practice of lumping large sums together under the heads of loans and advances or debts and deposits on both the receipts and expenditure sides of an account is reprehensible as it prevents one getting a clear idea of the financial condition of the concern or States under scrutiny. In the case of petty estates like Vishalgad and Ichalkaranji there is no excuse whatever for not making proper adjustments of the bulk of the money thus represented in time for the annual review of their affairs. The Diwan has not mentioned it, but the

Bai of Vishalgad behaved very badly in not letting her son go to the Calcutta Exhibition as was settled by the Regent in Council. She carried off her son to Aundh without the permission of the Regency and set their orders at defiance. When I touched upon this subject during her visit to Kolhapur last hot weather, she had no valid reason to give for her extraordinary behaviour which affected no one so much as her own son who was thereby deprived of all the advantages to be derived from a tour in upper India and a visit to the Calcutta Exhibition in the company of such an excellent cicerone as Aba Saheb. The former Karbhari of Vishalgad died, otherwise I should have urged his dismissal as his management and conduct were unsatisfactory."

The history of the relations of these feudatories with the Darbar is full of such incidents and the Maharaja had to direct his whole policy to remove these thorns in the sides of the Darbar by blunting their points if not by transforming them into useful instruments of a harmonious administration. For years, he patted them on the back and tried to conciliate them. In December 1895, for instance, in reply to an address from the citizens of Malkapur, he referred to the two most insubordinate of his feudatories in terms of the utmost cordiality. He said :—

"You, Aba Saheb, have referred very appropriately to the services which your ancestors rendered to my ancestors and the close relations which have always existed between Kolhapur and the Pratinidhi. I can only re-echo your wish that the connection may rival its ancient fame, not now-a-days in the field of battle, but in the field of good administration, for which you, like the chief of Ichalkaranji, have set an excellent example to the rising generation of Southern Maratha Chiefs."

Nothing, however, could avail the Maharaja to wean them from the course which they and their ancestors had adopted towards the Darbar.

The Agreement of 1862 (Art. 7) provided that the sentences of death passed by the Darbar's Courts should be referred to the authority of Government before execution. Art. 8 of the same Agreement declared that "certain of the higher Jahagirdars, such as, should be considered as still in some degree under the supervision of the Political Agent, who should act as far as circumstances will permit in co-operation with the Rajah's government; and that all criminal cases within the jurisdiction of these Sirdars involving death or imprisonment beyond seven years should be forwarded for trial before the Political Agent for submission to Government." The Article added that "the supervision proposed to be retained over these Sirdars" is "not intended in any way to infringe the seigniorial rights of the Rajah, but merely to secure good Government, and to prevent those disputes which in old days were frequently the cause of disturbance and bloodshed." The restriction on the Darbar's authority imposed by Art. 7 was removed by No. 1757 of 1895 by which the Bombay Government modified the said article 'in recognition of Your Highness's rank and position' so that sentences of death should require the confirmation of the Maharaja alone.

But the question about the 'residuary jurisdiction' over the Jahagirdars reserved to the British Government by Art. 8 continued as before with that Government until 1903. This was not all. Specifically that Article only required cases for offences punishable with death sentences or imprisonment beyond seven years to be committed for trial by the Political Agent. But the question as to who was to exercise the appellate and revisionary powers usually exercisable by the Sessions Court or the High Court was not touched by the Agreement. Judging from practice and from the whole tenor of the Agreement which does not diminish the sovereign powers of the Darbar in general, it is clear that these powers remained with the Darbar even under the Treaty of 1862.

Certain Resolutions of the Government declared so far back as 1883 and 1886 that "the Regent in Council is the highest Court of appeal and revision" in cases from Bavada and Ichalkaranji Jahagirs. But it appears that simultaneously with the Darbar, the Political Agent who tried Sessions Cases from these Jahagirs also exercised revisionary powers in criminal matters arising in these areas. Strange as this may appear to a lay mind, concurrent revisional jurisdiction is an old feature of the criminal procedure in British India which would not strike any lawyer as unusual. His Highness was trying to induce the Government to restore to the Darbar the reserved residuary jurisdiction since his installation. In November 1895, he wrote :—

"According to the same article of the Treaty, cases involving imprisonment of more than 7 years arising in the local limits of any Feudatories have to be sent up to the Political Agent for trial. The provision was, I believe, made because there were not then well qualified officers in the State and as the Treaty was made soon after the disturbed times and not because, as the Treaty admits, 'in any way to infringe the seigniorial rights of the Rajah, but merely to secure good Government and to prevent those disputes which in old days were frequently the cause of disturbance and blood-shed.' Recently Government have been pleased to restore to me life and death powers as a mark of confidence in me, and, as I believe, I have competent officers and those troublous times have gone away. It would, therefore, I trust, seem not unreasonable if I request Government to restore to me the residuary criminal jurisdiction in the Feudatory States which is now exercised by the Political Agent."

The labours of years at last fructified and on 17th June 1903, Lord Northcote, Governor of Bombay, communicated to His Highness the Government's decision in these words :—

"I have great pleasure in informing Your Highness that, as a mark of their appreciation of your administration,

my Government have decided for so long as they remain satisfied of the impartiality and efficiency of your Courts, to withdraw from the exercise of residuary jurisdiction in the Feudatory Jahagirs which the then Government of Bombay reserved by Art. 8 of the Articles of Agreement accepted in 1862 by His Highness the then Rajah of the Kolhapur State. Save, therefore, in the cases specified below the residuary jurisdiction in the Feudatory Jahagirs will in future be left to the Courts of Your Highness.

The cases which my Government have decided still to reserve are the following :—

Cases which the Political Agent may require by a written request to be transferred to his Court for disposal.

Such cases occurring in the Feudatory Jahagirs and involving the punishment of death or imprisonment over seven years will continue to be tried by the Court of the Political Agent and committed thereto through the Courts of Your Highness.

Your Highness' Courts will, of course, avoid any possible allegation of encroachment on the jurisdiction reserved to the Feudatory Jahagirdars on their investiture by a scrupulous respect for the terms of Thailies addressed to them."

Coming as this Kharita did in the midst of his struggles with the varied forces arrayed against him, not the least of which was the whole strength of certain Feudatories of his State thrown against him, the Maharaja and his friends looked upon it as a great and memorable triumph. It was, to use the words of Lord Northcote, 'a great step for rehabilitating the State in its old prestige,' a prestige which the State had lost through the misfortunes of some generations past. The great goal of his policy had been now partially attained. But before long a question arose as to the exact powers of revision and appeal which were transferred to the Darbar as a result of this Kharita. The Political Agent proceeded on the basis that these powers were henceforth revested in the Maharaja. Accordingly, His Highness

issued a notification in terms approved by British Officials, giving effect to the purpose of this Kharita and published it in the *State Gazette*. For some months, the Government too seemed to acquiesce. Later on, in October, for some reason or other, the Government raised doubts regarding the interpretation put on the Kharita by the Darbar and after a good deal of correspondence, which it is unnecessary to discuss here, the matter was finally settled in 1904. The main contention of the Jahagirdars was based upon the reference to Investiture Thailiese made by the Kharita and it was argued that the revisionary powers of the High Court remained with the Jahagirdars themselves. The effect was that the supervision hitherto exercisable by the Political Agent as a High Court under the Criminal Procedure Code ceased and the transfer of the residuary jurisdiction meant according to this view the elevation of the hitherto subordinate Courts of the Feudatories to the position of High Courts except in cases exclusively triable by the Sessions Courts. Surely nothing could be more absurd than this measure avowedly taken for the purpose of rehabilitating the Darbar in its old prestige.

The final conclusions were embodied with the Government's approval in an announcement which His Highness made in a Darbar on January 2, 1905. It runs thus :—

"Our Feudatory Jahagirdars, Sardars and Gentlemen, most of you are already aware that His Excellency Lord Northcote by his Kharita of 17th June 1903 restored to us the entire residuary jurisdiction over our feudatories, therebefore exercised and exercisable by the Political Agent, and consequently we have the right to exercise all the criminal powers of High Court allowed by the Code of Criminal Procedure in respect of those feudatories. Having regard, however, to the fact that some of our feudatory Jahagirdars have, by their education and intelligence, qualified themselves for a somewhat larger measure of jurisdictional independence than is contemplated by a strict interpretation of

their 'Thailies' of investiture, we are desirous of dealing with them liberally. Therefore, though as their Suzerain and the authority from which their jurisdiction proceeds, we hold all the residue of the jurisdiction not specifically conferred on them by their 'Thailies' of investiture, nevertheless in consideration of the fact that since their investiture, the powers have but rarely been exercised of receiving applications of appeal or revision against the decisions of their Courts, of calling for returns, of appointing their subordinate magistrates, of transferring the *venue* of cases in their courts and such like functions reserved by law to the High Court, we, having due regard to the fact that the feudatory Jahagirdars of Vishalgad, Bavada, Kagal (senior) and Ichalkaranji have shown themselves by their intelligence and superior education, fitted to be exempted, to some extent, from the close supervision usually exercised over the subordinate courts and to the further fact that so far as is known, the suspension of such closer supervision has not resulted in injustice to the people residing within their jurisdiction, declare our intention to continue to them personally, and so long as necessity does not rise for the exercise of it, that dispensation from High Court supervision as specified above which they have hitherto enjoyed, and we feel sure that this mark of our confidence in their good administration will not be abused. We feel great pleasure in taking this opportunity also of publicly giving expression to our feelings of gratitude to the Bombay Government for the liberal recognition of the improved administration of our State, testified by the restoration to us of jurisdiction in the feudatory Jahagirs that had been withheld under the Treaty of 1862 as we consider it, to quote the words of His Excellency Lord Northcote 'an important step towards the constitution of the Kolhapur State in its old prestige,'' but, as a sort of compromise, it was arranged that the then ruling feudatories of Vishalgad, Bavada, Kagal (senior) and Ichalkaranji

should (1) personally, *i.e.*, during their lifetime and (2) so long as necessity does not arise, be exempted, (3) to some extent, from the revisionary jurisdiction of the Maharaja. Whether a necessity for the exercise of those powers by the Darbar would arise during the lifetime of the then ruling Jahagirdars would apparently depend on how long "the suspension of such closer supervision has not resulted in injustice to the people residing within their jurisdiction." It is indeed difficult to see how the test, by which the question whether such a necessity arises in future was to be decided, was to be applied in any case, without the Darbar being able to call the returns in which respect, too, the revisory jurisdiction seems to have been 'to some extent' suspended. But in politics, practice is more important than theory and though a very strict construction of the approved announcement may be difficult, it would be clearly understood that the High Court powers of the Maharaja would under this arrangement at any time during the lives of the then living feudatories be exercisable provided there was a miscarriage of justice in any of the feudatory's territory and that during the time of the successors of those feudatories, the Darbar may be entitled to exercise the High Court's powers, the confidence of the British Government in the State judiciary being of course the *sine qua non* of all these arrangements. The change effected by the Kharita proved that the judicial administration of the State had now attained, in the judgment of the paramount power, a standard of excellence which justified a relaxation of those rigorous conditions which the Treaty of 1862 had imposed on the Kolhapur Raj. In so far as this result was achieved, the triumph of the Maharaja will be certainly memorable in the history of Kolhapur.

But the Brahmins of Kolhapur were not going to be silenced by such successes. They were now trying to forge new weapons and hoped to succeed with their aid. How far they did succeed, will be seen in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XIV.

A Sham Democracy.

Preliminaries of the Lokpratinidhi Sabha—The City Municipality suspended—Mr. Gokhale's attitude—Mr. Tilak in Kolhapur—The Tai Maharaja case—The Political situation in 1906—The non-Brahmin attitude towards the Sabha—The shortlived Sabha—The Shahu Mills—The visit to Simla.

WITH an English educated Brahmin population such as Kolhapur had, it would have been strange indeed if no organized effort had been made to ventilate the grievances which they thought they were suffering from. As it was, the movement which was started in this direction was very late. Had Kolhapur Brahmins possessed a fraction of the public spirit which they professed to exhibit in 1906, this so-called Lokpratinidhi Sabha (People's Representative Assembly) would have been held some years earlier. Chafing as they were under the defeats which were being inflicted upon them by losing the posts of authority and profit in the State one after another, their claims to exclusive brain power rudely shaken by the superior genius of the Maharaja himself who easily out-generalled the Brahmins and by the Non-Brahmin graduates who were now in the limelight everywhere, and with the hopes of a future ascendancy reduced to a nullity, one would have expected them to prepare for a fight at least about the end of 1902. The resumption of Rajopadhye's inam was, as I have shown before, a direct and open challenge to the community behind the Royal Priest. He was openly giving battle to his master on the ground that the community which he adored more than his Chhatrapati was not sanctioning the Vedokta for the Bhosale family. There was at least a touch of boldness about this attitude of Appasaheb (the Rajopadhye). But

the deity he worshipped so devoutly did not bless him at the time when blessings would have been of some use. The idea of such concerted action was not new to them. In June 1902, their organ proposed that a Conference of Inamdars should be convened by the offended priest for the purpose of devising means to protect the erring servant from the indignation of his insulted master. The Inamdars of Kolhapur were too shrewd to be thus caught into the net. A long interval of silence followed until the Viceroy rejected the appeal of the Rajopadhye in May 1905. During these years, the Brahmin publicists did not stir an inch. But when the hopes of Rajopadhye's success with the British Government were dashed to pieces in that month, the *Samarth* woke up within less than a month and the project of a Representative Assembly was mooted on June 2. For once in his life, the stag seemed to be at bay. A Brahmin Pleader, full of enthusiasm, invited the leaders of the 'people'—and in the Brahmin vocabulary as in that of the seventeenth century Whig, the 'people' meant the writer and his friends who in this case were none but his fellow-castemen—to meet in Kolhapur. The defeat of their champion had stung the Brahmins to the quick; but with the peculiar recuperative capacity which they possessed, they soon forgot what had taken place and another year rolled by. In the meantime, a Professor in the Rajaram College, Mr. Bijapurkar, who had already distinguished himself by invoking divine wrath on those who displeased the Brahmins by insisting on the Vedokta got into a bad scrape by, as it was alleged, using his influence as a teacher on the immature youths in the College for the purpose of leading them on to the paths of the Boycot movement which the partition of Bengal agitation had ushered into existence about this time. The boys would not answer the examination papers on anything but Swadeshi sheets and when they went out of the Examination Hall they were found to be indulging in the patriotic duty of tearing used postal

stamps to tatters under the belief that they were thereby holding up the King-Emperor imprinted on those stamps to public ridicule. When no one, including the Principal, could induce them to give up that silly attitude, Mr. Bijapurkar went out to them like a conquering hero and, at his beck and call, the boys flocked round him and were soon observed to be coming back to the Hall. The lesson was obvious and learning it at once, the Darbar dispensed with Mr. Bijapurkar's services with a few months' notice and the rebellious boys were rusticated. Mr. Bijapurkar thus became an unwilling acquisition to the public life of Kolhapur and surrounded by the halo of this enforced self-sacrifice, he became the idol of his community. Encouraged by this accession of welcome strength to the thin ranks of public life in Kolhapur, Mr. Altekar, a Brahmin Pleader in Kolhapur, took up the thread of his forgotten story once again in 1906 and, happily for him, this time with better success than before.

The suspension of the Kolhapur Municipality in April 1904, gave the malcontents a new grievance to ventilate. What they were hitherto complaining of affected them as one among the many communities of Kolhapur. But they found in this step of the Darbar a ground for complaint which to all ostensible purposes might be described as a 'public' grievance of the Kolhapur City. The Darbar's order suspending the Municipality was based on the mismanagement of its finances, which were not inconsiderable, leading to neglect of the most primary Municipal functions of maintaining an effective drainage system and well-metalled and well-lighted roads. In order to find out what the wastage in the Municipal revenue was due to, the Maharaja nominated a special officer who was charged with the duty of examining the whole administration of the Municipality and suggesting remedies. Though the suspension order did not say so, one other reason justifying this drastic measure must have been the factious spirit of the Brahmin clique which held sway in

that body. The nomination of Non-Brahmins may easily be suggested as the proper remedy. But it must be recognised that, except in the State Service, there were hardly any educated Non-Brahmins worth the name in Kolhapur in these years and that remedy was therefore out of the question. The suspension order, however, provided a good war cry to the Brahmins, which they were now about to exploit to the fullest extent.

The Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale, who was born in the State and had received his education in the Rajaram Institutions, attended a gathering in Kolhapur in the beginning of June 1904. It would be impossible to attribute to that great man any share in the various motives which inspired his Brahmin friends in Kolhapur. But his old connections with the men who were now playing the chief part in the Brahmin camp—with men who had been the companions of his boyhood—made him easily susceptible to their influence and though he gave no signs, as far as we can know from published accounts, of any partizan bias in the matter, his Kolhapur friends had no doubt that his influence—which even then was great—would be exercised on their side. There was nothing unnatural in the reaction which this prevalent belief in the opposite camp produced on the mind of the Maharaja and his friends. At the gathering I have alluded to above, Mr. Gokhale lamented the absence of enthusiasm and hopefulness in Kolhapur which he found had considerably ebbed away during the preceding eleven years that he was absent from the place. As a corollary to this, he rightly exhorted his friends to throw away the slough of despondency which had enveloped them and to do devoted work for the attainment of some goal or other, no matter what the difficulties in their way. This was perfectly sound advice, provided the goal adopted was a good one. But Mr. Gokhale's friends seem to have taken this as the complete identification of that high-souled patriot with their own factious complaints and low

inspired activities, and when some months after, they were concerting plans for action rendered imperative by their all round discomfiture, they cherished fond hopes of Mr. Gokhale being able to assist them in their ignoble struggle. It was hoped that he would assume the Presidentship of their first Assembly in October 1906; but he declined the invitation. Yet the hopes were not all gone. "Already Hon. Mr. Gokhale," wrote the *Samarth* on 14th November 1906, "has secured the ear of Mr. John Morley. Let us only be true to ourselves and let us not be tempted to add falsehood to our story in order to give a point to it and *we are bound to triumph.*" (Italics are mine). I cannot say how far Mr. Gokhale had inspired these underlying hopes. But one need not be surprised if he had advised them not to add falsehood to their story and *then* they would undoubtedly triumph, advice which, as we shall presently see, they did not and could not follow. We find Mr. Gokhale leaving Kolhapur mercilessly alone. Mr. Sabnis, the Diwan, happening to meet him in a train casually asked him when he was expected to revisit Kolhapur. "The world" said Mr. Gokhale, "is wide enough for me outside the Kolhapur State." And he bore this fact scrupulously in mind during the rest of his life.

Mr. Gokhale's rivals in Poona, the extremist followers of Mr. Tilak, had however much more in common with the Brahmins in Kolhapur and extended the right hand of fellowship to their Kolhapur comrades. Mr. Tilak was in no way a Kolhapur man in the sense in which Mr. Gokhale was. But while the latter, with all his intimate associations with the men and institutions of Kolhapur, steered clear of the rocks and shoals in the State, Mr. Tilak had been drifting there in the Brahmin boat for many years past. The famous Baba Maharaja Estate of which Mr. Tilak was the leading trustee and the Shivaji cult of which he was the original apostle brought him into close contact with the affairs of Kolhapur.

The Shivaji Club in Kolhapur, started about 1895, soon established its notoriety by resort to thieving and robbing for the purpose of replenishing the coffers of a national army which was to be at the disposal of a new Shivaji. I will not be unfair to Mr. Tilak's memory by affirming that he consciously or directly encouraged the gang of this club in its nefarious career. But there is no doubt that he was their idol. He had been convicted in 1897 for preaching the Jesuitical theory that a political end justified every means to attain it and that the murder committed by Shivaji was not a murder and could not be adjudged an immoral act for the simple reason that the ordinary codes of morality did not apply in cases like this. That was obviously sufficient justification for the methods of the Shivaji Club. It was also found that Mr. Tilak was in touch with these men. A photograph was traced about this time in which he was the central figure among some young men in Kolhapur who were found guilty of anarchist crimes. On October 12, 1906, His Highness says :—

" The Shivaji Movement once thrived here and, though suppressed, broke out again and even now some thefts and dacoities are traced to some of the mischief-mongers belonging to that party of which (Mr.) Tilak is the head. This is clear from one of the photographs we have come across wherein he is the central figure and the other dacoits round him."

It would not be easy to say what the full import of this photograph may be, but that it left room for serious suspicions cannot be denied. It may be that Mr. Tilak allowed himself to be the central figure in this criminal group without a knowledge of their criminal proclivities. But the conclusion still holds good that the anarchist youngsters looked upon him as their Guru and were in direct contact with him.

The trusteeship of Mr. Tilak in respect of the Baba Maharaj Estate implicated him still further with Kolhapur affairs.

Naturally enough he was overrating his own influence with the Maharaja from the beginning. We have seen how he arrogated to himself the task of weaning the Maharaja from his chosen path in 1895. The Estate of Baba Maharaj was a grant from the Kolhapur State and a considerable portion of it was situate in the Kolhapur territories. Under the rules in force, therefore, he and his fellow-trustees were bound to seek the Darbar's sanction for the proposed adoption of an heir to Baba Maharaj by his widow Taj Maharaj. This Taj Maharaj, backed up by Nagpurkar, one of the trustees, wished to adopt and subsequently did adopt Bala Maharaj from the Kolhapur branch of the deceased's family. Mr. Tilak wished to create a tool of his own as successor to the Estate and disputes arose between Mr. Tilak and two of his co-trustees on one side and Taj Maharaj and Mr. Nagpurkar, the fourth trustee, on the other side. These disputes have not ended even to-day (1923) and it is not necessary to enter at any length into the many remifications of this affair. But it is necessary to note here briefly how the Maharaja came to be embroiled in these quarrels. The ultimate result of the dispute in Kolhapur was that the adoption of Bala Maharaj from the Kolhapur branch was sanctioned by the Kolhapur State while the rival adoption of one Jagannath Maharaj was upheld by the Privy Council. The Estate was thus divided into two parts. The issue in British India was decided, it would seem, on the oral testimony of Mr. Tilak and his witnesses who spoke to the adoption of Jagannath Maharaj at Aurangabad on June 27, 1901. When two Courts, each the highest in its own sphere, decide the same issue in two diametrically opposed ways, it is difficult for lay readers to form an opinion unless one is to accept the decision which accords with one's own prejudices and prepossessions. The indubitable facts which came before the Maharaja may, however, be mentioned here and I think they fully justify the conclusion which the Darbar arrived at in view of those

circumstances. Admittedly the adoption of Jagannath Maharaj could not be valid in Kolhapur unless the previous sanction of the State was obtained for it. Mr. Tilak wrote to Mr. Sabnis, the Diwan, "a private and confidential" letter on June 18, 1901, *i.e.* nine days prior to the alleged Aurangabad adoption, in which he requested him to "arrange to have the permission granted at once without delay" on an application which was then about to be presented. "As we propose to give a son (in?) adoption shortly we want the sanction in our own hands; so that as soon as we come across a suitable boy, we may, without delay, perform the ceremony of adoption." The letter ends with a postscript in which Mr. Tilak takes care to say that, "we do not mean to give out so soon that we are going to adopt so shortly." This letter describes the sanction as a 'formal' one; but that epithet loses all its force when Mr. Tilak clearly admits that the sanction must be in his hands so that he could have the adoption as soon as a boy was selected. To his own knowledge, therefore, the sanction was a condition precedent and that being delayed till some time after June 27, the Aurangabad proceedings, whatever they were, became *ultra vires* in Kolhapur. The hot haste and secrecy which Mr. Tilak was adopting in this matter is also inexplicable. A reference to what preceded the alleged adoption of June 27 also throws some light on this incident. On May 29, 1901, the trustees, including Mr. Tilak, decided—I take this and the following from exhibited extracts in the files of the Civil Suit in Poona—that if any boys are available from the Babre (Aurangabad) family, "detailed information regarding their age, education, character, family circumstances and horoscopes should be obtained," and deputed Mr. Nagpurkar for the purpose. On 18 June 1901, however, "Shri Tai Maharaj suggested that Messrs. Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Ganesh Shrikrishna Khaparde should both go to Babre, select boys and return after settling as regards that family." The trustees added that

"Shri Tai Maharaj should go, see boys and approve." This is signed by three trustees to which Mr. Nagpurkar added a note correcting certain statements in the recorded proceedings. He says :—

"In connection with the matter, the late Shri Baba Maharaj had at the time of making his will just before his death, distinctly told Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak that if the necessity for taking a son in adoption arose, a boy of the family of Shri only and not from outside should be adopted. Mr. Tilak agreed to this but that point has not been considered. Further that Shri Tai Maharaj has expressed the opinion that she approved of Shri Bala Maharaj and that therefore he should be adopted, had not been entered in the resolution because the above named three (trustees) disapproved of it. As I have written (the resolution) as Mr. Tilak told me to write, I feel the necessity of writing this note when affixing my signature. I have informed the trustees that it is clear that the family at Bhore is not of the family of Shri."

Mr. Tilak contended that this note was false and that Baba Maharaj "omitted these words expressly from the will at the time because Mr. Tilak told him not to (add them)." It is surprising to see how Mr. Tilak, a man of such acumen and training, could fail to see that his own statement bears out what Nagpurkar had said in this connection. The latter had simply said that Baba Maharaj expressed a wish that the adoption should be from a particular family and when Mr. Tilak says that he told him not to mention that in the will and that therefore Baba Maharaj *omitted* those words, it is clear admission that Nagpurkar was right and on some representation by Mr. Tilak—probably that the trustees would do it without a restriction being put in black and white—and trusting the assurance he gave, Baba Maharaj must have omitted the words from some draft of the will. The allegation that Nagpurkar wrote this note some time after the meeting is not supported by the fact that Nagpur-

kar, though present, did not sign the minutes, as was usual, which he should have done if the dissenting note had been an afterthought of his. The letter to the Diwan of Kolhapur written on this very day makes it clear that Tai Maharaj did not accept the view of the three trustees who therefore simply asked Tai Maharaj to 'see boys and approve'. When she accompanied Mr. Tilak to Aurangabad—that he should go there instead of Nagpurkar as previously arranged was a significant fact too—she was plainly under the impression that she was going merely to see and select some boy—either from there or elsewhere—and not to adopt finally. Mr. Tilak, however, had thought otherwise. At Aurangabad a certificate was taken from certain Shastris regarding the adoption on the same day as saw the execution of the deed of adoption. It is not easy to explain the necessity for it except on the assumption that it was only what it purports to be except in its solitary and last sentence, a certificate to show that the boy named therein was astrologically a fit boy for adoption. Even after the complete execution of the adoption deed the same day, Tai Maharaj writes to the natural father of the adoptee that "*I shall not take* any one but him (*i.e.* his son) in adoption," which becomes meaningless except on the hypothesis that she still thought that she had not made an adoption, but had been either induced or forced to sign a consent to adopt—a choice which she was supposed to have made. Soon after her return to Poona, she complained to the District Judge and Agent to Sirdars about what had happened at Aurangabad. Even in the first letter she was made to write on her return home, she describes the documents as 'preliminary'. The account of this trip to Aurangabad submitted by Mr. Tilak to the office of the trustees will repay an examination. Rs. 15 and odd are there debited—and this is the only expenditure for adoption barring of course the purchase of stamps—"to charity distributed in the *meeting* (of Brahmins) held (at the time of the resolu-

tion) to finally determine on *dattak* boy and in the presence of sundry people". The brackets and italics are mine. This would, if it stood like this, show that not a pie was spent on the occasion in connection with the *dattak* or adoption which is said to have taken place there. The bracketed words were struck out with a black ink line across them and the following words were interlined in a different ink instead :—" on account of performing the oral giving and taking of him" which must be "of the boy". Rs. 3 more were debited on the next day (28th), "to sweets offered to the god on return to Poona in honour of having finally determined on the *dattak* boy". Comment on this is superfluous.

What should be the motive behind all this ? Apparently the trustees did not wish to adopt a grown-up boy who would demand an immediate transfer of the management of his estate. Disinterested trustees had nothing to fear in this. But for reasons best known to themselves Messrs. Tilak, Khaparde and Kumbhojkar did not relish the idea. It has been suggested that the debts of the Estate had increased from Rupees Sixty-eight thousand to Rupees Eighty thousand during the management of the Trustees and this may also explain their unwillingness to allow Tai Maharaj to adopt a grown-up boy. They, however, contended that it was to be able to pay off the old debts that they were against the adoption of such a boy.

It was under these circumstances that Mr. Tilak approached the Maharaja to accord his sanction to the adoption of Jagannath Maharaj. He visited Kolhapur in the following month and interviewed His Highness. But Tai Maharaj was also moving and she had applied to the Darbar on July 10th to sanction the adoption of Bala Maharaj and the Durbar decided that there was no objection to that sanction being given. This adoption took place some time later. What I have said will be sufficient to show how Mr. Tilak had placed himself in a hostile position with the Darbar

and how this reacted on his future relations with it. At the time we have come to (1906), the case had already assumed a serious aspect involving Mr. Tilak in civil and criminal litigation of an unpleasant kind and embittering his feelings in respect of the Maharaja more than ever before.

The political situation in the country had by this time assumed a threatening aspect. In August 1906, His Highness thus summaries it :—

" Of course the unrest in Bengal is the result of the instigation of the Bengal leaders assisted by Tilak who had recently been here. The partition of Bengal is merely a pretext. Though the unrest has not spread greatly on this side, still, as you are aware, Tilak and Co. have been working at it and on worse lines. The thefts I have mentioned above are a direct result of their labours. This agitation is confined only to this class of persons. The masses are quite untouched, but if proper precautions are not taken in time, the discontent might spread even among some of them. The cultivator class is perfectly unconcerned. The spirit is among pleaders, editors, educated merchants and, what is to be (specially) regretted, school boys."

Kolhapur had had some share in this school boys' agitation. I have referred to the rustication of many boys in the Rajaram Institutions and the removal of Mr. Bijapurkar from the College. Disfigurement of the Reading Room walls by the College students had to be punished with imposition by the Principal who was in his turn punished with scurrilous attacks in the Press. Mr. Bijapurkar had started his Samarth Vidyalaya, a national school of the Bengal type. Of this His Highness wrote on October 5 :—

" I am placed in great anxiety on account of the newly established national school and the existence here of the Shivaji cult in the name of which some dacoities are being committed and young men rendered seditious and disloyal."

I need hardly add that Mr. Tilak was holding the leading strings of this school in his hands as he was the most prominent among its protagonists.

In this state of troubled atmosphere, the agitation of a Representative Assembly was mooted by the Brahmins of Kolhapur. To make it truly representative, its organisors should have begun by enlisting the sympathies of the leaders of non-Brahmin communities in the State. But were they going to cast their lot with the Brahmins? Some of the Brahmins seem to have realised this and characterised the Brahmin scheme as Platonic and Utopian. The *Samarth* said on September 15 :—

"Not that we do not like his idea of Kolhapur Representative Assembly, but, as we have more than once observed, there are slight chances of his idea being worked out in the present disturbed atmosphere of the Kolhapur State unless he is backed by all sections of the several educated communities."

And the *Samarth* was for once in the right. Even if the leaders of the movement had been inspired by the purest of motives, it would have been nothing short of miraculous at that time for the non-Brahmins to think of trusting the Kolhapur Brahmins who were engineering the agitation. Leadership implies confidence on the part of the followers. More than outward manifestations or professed opinions, the antecedents of the persons claiming confidence count in the estimation of the mass-mind. It may not be a mathematically or scientifically correct way of adjudging the reliability of an aspirant for leadership. But it is a sufficiently accurate method of practical judgment which is, besides, the only one open to mankind. What then was the history of these people? Beyond their own individual or communal interests, they had applied themselves hitherto to nothing, though it may be confessed that their talk always centred on national or even cosmopolitan topics and was

invariably coloured by the language of non-sectarian patriotism. During the years that preceded, they had been busy opposing the Maharaja in what the non-Brahmins considered to be his perfectly legitimate policies. None was so blind as not to see that an administration such as that of an autocratic Indian State would profit immensely by healthy public criticisms and an organisation to focus them into a faithful public opinion. But none there was among the non-Brahmins who could not see through the thin veil which attempted to disguise their motives. What were their standing grievances? What was their permanent attitude towards the Maharaja and his increasingly non-Brahmins administration? What awakened in them this sudden anxiety for the ryots' woes? Would they not direct the volume of public opinion, should it trust itself to their guidance, into an anti-Darbar campaign? Was not the sequence between the Brahmin discomfiture in the Vedokta dispute and the woeful tales of evils heaped upon them by the appointment of non-Brahmins to offices in the State on the one hand and the idea of a Representative Assembly which closely followed them, a sequence of cause and effect?

These were the thoughts which welled up in the minds of the non-Brahmins. I was then on a short visit to Kolhapur for some business. Though I had seen the Maharaja on a few occasions in connection with the Jain Hostel, I did not know much of him. I knew, however, many of the Brahmins who were then manipulating the so-called public life of Kolhapur and had seen what the undercurrents of their thoughts were. On a certain day in September, I forget the date, hearing that a non-Brahmin meeting was being held in a Mangalwar Temple, I went there out of idle curiosity. After one or two Marathas had spoken, a Brahmin enthusiast got up to expose the fallacies of the non-Brahmin arguments. In a public cause, said he, why should you divide? Is it not unwise to separate the Brahmins

from others when they are fighting for the common good? There was a dead silence in the assembly. I thought that the subtle Brahmin had won the day. Through sheer restiveness, I got up to ask the speaker a few questions. What is the common good in a family of five brothers? If the eldest one, the most intelligent of the lot, appropriated the whole joint property to himself and beseeched the others to maintain unity by not claiming their own share, what could you say of him? And if perchance the younger fellows wrested their own shares from him with the help of a third party and, after he had lost his battle, the eldest one turned round and asked his brothers in the fullness of his love to throw the stranger overboard for the purpose of keeping an united front, would that request be granted by men with heads on their shoulders? The meeting voted the resolution dissociating themselves from the Brahmin Representative Assembly amidst enthusiastic applause. On October 4, His Highness writes to a friend :—

"I am glad that the backward classes in my State have had courage enough to boldly express themselves against the mischievous attempts of the B's to spread sedition."

Out of these experiences grew another kindred idea which deserved to succeed. A friend suggested that the best way to fight the Brahmin was to organise your own force properly. His Highness refers to the suggestion in the following letter of October 21 :—

"I highly appreciate your idea of building up a Maratha aristrocracy and I have been devoting my best endeavours to that end. It would indeed be very desirable if Mudhol, Jath and Akalkot join us in our attempt, but as all of them except Mudhol have been minors and as the administrations have been long in B's hands, I do not know whether they would have courage to go against that class. Even my Maratha Feudatories, though majors, still cannot do without

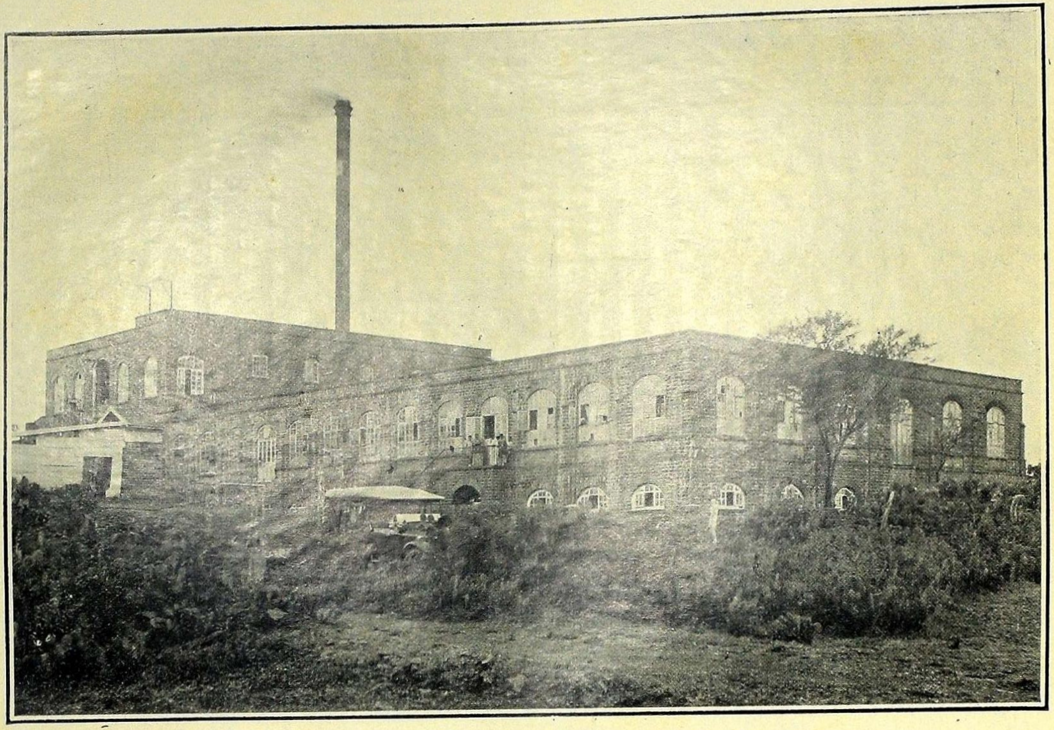
B's though I have been advising them to be independent of that class."

That was the root cause of the failure from which the Marathas have been and are suffering. When the Peshwas fought the Bhosales, the Scindias and Gaikwads sided with the former. When the British fought the Peshwa, they were silent. When they fought Nagpur, still these two pillars of the Maratha Empire remained unaffected. When it was the turn of Scindia to be brought to his knees, the other stood aside in indifference. And so when the Chhatrapati was pulling down the Brahmin, other famous members of the Maratha aristocracy stood away either in pious horror or an airy unconcern with what the misguided Brahmanophobe of Kolhapur was doing. Even some of his own Sardars appeared as if untouched by the surging waves of the sea around them. The Maharaja took some time to realise what led to this intellectual supineness and moral cowardice. The educated Marathas and other non-Brahmins—the new aristocracy of intellect—however, stood by the Darbar and helped it to pull through. Meetings of the kind I have indicated were held throughout the State by many of the backward communities to expose the hollowness of the Brahmin claims to represent them. And the success of these denunciations was markedly stamped on the Assembly which met in a godown at Shahupuri on October 2. The attendance was not only poor but thoroughly unrepresentative. Another feature of it is thus described by His Highness :—

"I should have not minded if it was an honest movement fairly representing the people at large, but the very fact that the leaders have confined their work to Kagal and Kolhapur and not a single one of the other Feudatories or S. M. C. Chiefs is included is enough to show their real object. Evidently they do not like our efforts to bring forward the backward classes and their intrigues about the Shivaji cult thefts are exposed and that is what they do not like and

naturally they hate us. The part we have taken to get up the I. S. T. for Kolhapur and S. M. C. is a fresh cause for their anger. In other B. feudatory states the discontent has been so great as to compel some non-Brahmins to leave the States and go out, but not a word is said about them. This single fact shows what has prompted this movement."

The Resolutions passed by the Assembly need not be repeated. They studiously avoided every one of the grievances which the Brahmin community in and out of Kolhapur had been for years trumpeting from the housetops. The Rajopadhye resumption, the confiscation of properties, the attachment of the Math Inams and their subsequent restoration to a Brahmin-discarded Swami, the desecration of the Ambabai Temple by outcasted Vedokta Brahmins, the 50 per cent. reservation of posts order, the dismissal of men like Mr. Bijapurkar 'without assigning a cause' and a hundred misdeeds of this type which had formed the only basis of the persistent attacks on the Maharaja hitherto were left in the lurch. Not a word was said about these standing grievances. Nor was the conduct of the Bombay Government and its political officers in Kolhapur in supporting the Maharaja throughout noticed by the Assembly, though that had been the subject of frequent comments in their Press. It was because the movement arose out of a desire to ward off these 'shrewd blows' dealt to the Kolhapur 'public'—we know what that word meant in the Brahmin vocabulary—with which the British Government had been 'in unholy alliance to crush the Brahmins' that the non-Brahmins had been roused to opposition. By giving a clean go-by to these complaints, the Assembly admitted—tacitly if not explicitly—that all their years-long ado was really about nothing. The Maharaja could expect no better vindication of his non-Brahmin policy and the backward classes could expect no better proof of the righteousness of the cause so



The Shahu Spinning & Weaving Mills.

stoutly championed by him. And I must add, nothing could be a more ignominous conclusion to the venomous agitation which the Brahmins had been so persistently carrying on.

The Assembly never met again. The suspicious character of the agitation required no better proof. The need of more technical and agricultural education, the spread of mass education, the suspended Municipality of Kolhapur, the right of citizens to sue the Darbar and subjects of that kind dealt with in the Resolutions remained open topics for discussion after the close of 1906. Nor were the Brahmins silent in the years which followed. But they never again paid a moment's thought to these subjects, for they never wanted to do so. After they went to sleep over them in 1906, they never woke up again until 1918, when again the Kulkarnis of the State received another 'shrewd blow' from the Maharaja. There again the Brahmin interests were touched to the quick and it was then, and then alone, that there was a fresh recrudescence of the public spirit of the Brahmins not only in Kolhapur but throughout the Brahmin Deccan.

On the eve of the meeting of this Assembly, on the 27th of September, the Maharaja laid the foundations of the Shahu Chhatrapati Spinning and Weaving Mills. It was originally a joint stock concern promoted by a leading Maratha gentleman of Kolhapur, but it passed into the hands of the Darbar after many vicissitudes which were finally concluded by liquidation proceedings in a Court of Law. I am not going to narrate a story of the lives of persons who were responsible for the intervening debacle. It will suffice here to say that the Maharaja gave this industrial concern a fine and generous start by subscribing to its capital, by ganting a free site and a water-tank and by giving it a monopoly for some years. The failure of the company was due entirely to bad management. To-day in the hands of the Darbar, it is a flourishing business contributing materially to the wealth of the State as a whole. His Highness

had similarly helped the Ginning Factory at Shirol Road and a handloom concern, managed by a Brahmin expert, at Raibag. This latter was provided with all the necessary capital by His Highness himself. A Chemistry expert was also deputed to help it by investigating the possibilities of a dye factory at Raibag. The former is still a thriving private factory while the latter had to be closed down after many years of a struggling life. Considered along with the successful Shahupuri scheme and the yet embryonic scheme of the later Jayasingpuri at Shirol Road, the policy of fostering industries and commerce in Kolhapur followed by His Highness reflects credit on his evident interest in the economic progress of his State.

His Highness' interest in the tea plantations was continuing. He writes on 24th October 1904 :—

"This morning I went up to Panhala and was delighted to find the tea planted there in an excellent condition. I think our experiment bids fair to succeed. I should like, therefore, to have a bigger plantation and should feel obliged if you could kindly get for me about ten maunds of tea seeds."

The proposed extension is referred to in the end of the following paragraph in the Report of 1906-07 :—

"His Highness left Kolhapur for Simla on the 27th August 1906, to see His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India there. His Highness on the way broke journey at Indore and having passed a few days at Dewas where he enjoyed the princely hospitality of his son-in-law-elect, His Highness Tukojirao Powar, the Rajesaheb of Dewas, started for Simla, reaching there on the 5th of September 1906. After a short stay there, during which time he had the honour of a personal interview with His Excellency Lord Minto, the Viceroy and Governor-General of India. His Highness and party left Simla on the 9th and arrived in Kolhapur on the 16th idem. His Highness made several

tours to Bombay on business and also to different places in the State. His visit to Shelap in Bhudargad Taluka testifies to His Highness' keen interest in agricultural pursuits. The place has been selected by His Highness for making experiments on a small scale in tea plantation and sericulture."

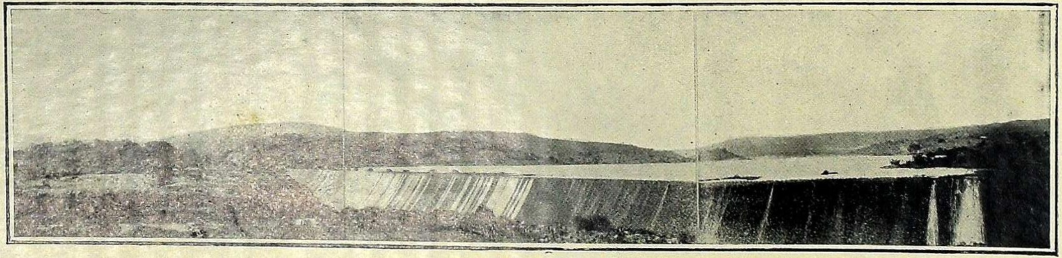
CHAPTER XV.

From 1907 to 1911.

The Maharani Laxmibai Tank—The Irrigation Project—The Marriage of H. H. Akasaheb Maharaj—The Governor in Kolhapur—The Statue of Queen Victoria unveiled—The Missionaries in Kolhapur—The education of the Princes—Mr. Candy's School—The Peshwa Daftar—Progress in a nutshell.

EARLY in 1907 His Highness made up his mind to undertake a large irrigation project for his State by damming the Bhogavati near Dajipur, about thirty miles to the West of Kolhapur. The idea seems to have occurred to him while he was touring in England five years back. As he himself told the writer, the one thing that struck him there was that every source of wealth and power was being utilised by the British with a care and forethought which ought to be emulated by every one in India. Large rivers drained away the plentiful rainfall in the Ghats to the deep seas and we are allowing this water to be thus wasted while the rich black soil of the eastern Desh was simply thirsting for it. This showed, as he said, where we mainly differed from the people of Europe. How deeply he had fixed his heart upon the project may be illustrated by what he said on that occasion. "My life's work," he said, "will have been done when I complete this project." The survey work was undertaken in April 1907 for which a special Engineer was appointed. When Lord Sydenham visited Kolhapur in March of the following year, he was taken there to inspect and advise on the scheme. The preliminaries of building the dam were commenced in 1909 at the hands of Her Highness the Maharani Saheb after whom the tank thus formed is named. As the report observes in 1909-10 :—

"The works in connection with the Shri Maharani Laxmibai Tank properly commenced in November 1909.



Shri Laxmi Tank, Radhanagari.

The work is being done partly by piece-work and partly by departmental agency system under the direct supervision of His Highness' brother, the Jahagirdar of Kagal Senior, who has been helping the Darbar working as Director of the Tank Works. The services of Mr. Gupte, Assistant Engineer and Mr. Mitter, Supervisor, have been placed at the disposal of the Director."

The excavation of the foundations rapidly progressed during the year and good sound rocks have been struck and exposed in the deepest portion of the site for the dam. Masonry work is also being put up at those places where the rocks have been exposed. The main amount of work done during the year might safely be said to consist of the various preliminary arrangements, such as the opening of stone mines, the laying out of light rails, the erection of mortar mills and the opening of different distant depots for collection at convenient centres of kankar, sand, etc., required for the work. About 2,000 people were working during the season on all the various branches of the works. The amount spent on the works till the end of March 1910 was Rs. 66,000.

"Mr. A. Hill, C.I.E., Chief Engineer and Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Public Works Department, visited the tank site just after a little of the masonry work was done and was much pleased to see that the foundations were sound and that the masonry work was being satisfactorily done with good materials."

In 1910-11 questions about the financial soundness of the project arose for solution and His Highness had to spend much anxious labour over them. One of them was whether it would be profitable to run a canal through several miles of hilly tracts before it could reach the rich areas of Karveer and Alta Talukas. The alternative was to divert the waters to the right bank and thence into an area which is not primarily in the Kolhapur State. But His Highness' enthu-

siasm would not yield to difficulties. He says to Sir George Clarke (afterwards Lord Sydenham) in January 1911 :—

"We wanted two canals for our scheme but I have changed my mind now and I want the two canals in two different valleys along the banks of Bhogavati and Dudhaganga. My other idea is that if we fall short of water in this dam, I am going to build another supplementary dam to the Dudhaganga higher up in Bhogavati. In anticipation of Your Excellency's sanction, I have asked Mr. Hankel to take a flying survey of the other valley also.

I want Dudhaganga valley taken up first. I shall therefore be obliged if Your Excellency will kindly ask Mr. Hankel.

I have got some doubt about the strength of the present dam, as the rainfall here is more than two hundred inches. I am sending my Executive Engineer again to consult Mr. Hill on the subject."

He describes his confusion frankly in March 1911 :—

"I had some six months back asked for an experienced Engineer. No one was available then, but Mr. Dalal, who built the Markanavi dam in Mysore, is now likely to be obtained. We have not made him any offer. It would look on my part very ungrateful if I did so without consulting Mr. Hill. Mr. Dalal finds fault with everything. (*a*) Sand, however washed, bad. (*b*) Lime is not hydraulic. (*c*) Stones small in size. (*d*) Lime he used in his dam at Markanavi was not slaked. But this may be slaked. (*e*) Limestones are of inferior quality and should be burnt with charcoal instead of fuel which is very expensive and on Bhandari dam, fuel is used. (*f*) He proposes surkee instead of sand should be used in mortar to improve mortar.

According to his opinion he thinks the foundation is weak and therefore the section of the dam at the bottom should be widened. Mr. Hill and Mr. Godbole had approved of these materials. I think, as a layman, there is a little exaggeration in what he says. I would like to stick to Mr. Hill.

It has given me great anxiety and I repent for ever starting this work."

Only two days later he explains his difficulties still further :—

"This irrigation business has been worrying me. As two doctors never agree, in the same way two engineers never agree. I have been consulting many engineers and that is the reason why I am nervous. I have seen many failures for instance at Bhavnagar. The port they made there cost some lakhs and no one ever saw any ship sailing in ; and in Kathiawar there are many tanks that never hold any water. I think that is the mistake of the Chiefs. I do not want to commit a similar mistake. As a layman I wish to use commonsense, brains and efforts not to have such failures. If Mr. Wright is changed from Belgaum, I shall have another man with different views. If you are changed, the same difficulty will arise and my dam would be like the patient with many doctors with different views."

The progress of this year's work is thus described :—

"About 200,000 cubic feet of masonry work was done up to the end of the year, the total construction from the commencement of the work being about 423,200 cubic feet. The expenditure on the tank works up to the end of the year amounted Rs. 68,299. About 3,000 masons and labourers were working on all the various branches of the works."

The project was so big a one for the resources of the State that, though pushed forward with all possible speed, it went on from year to year till in 1915-16 we learn :—

"The expenditure incurred during the year amounted to Rs. 1,99,167 against Rs. 2,07,968 last year. The total amount spent from the commencement of the work came to Rs. 8,93,243.

The quantity of masonry of the dam done during the year under report was 761,000 cubic feet against 912,977 cubic feet in the year preceding, the total construction work

from the beginning being 3,215,589 cubic feet. The total number of masons and labourers working on all the various branches to the works remained the same as last year, *viz.*, 3,000.

Mr. B. P. Jagtap, L.C.E., M.R.S.I., Executive Engineer, was in charge of the tank works during the year."

Next year, in spite of the pressure due to the Great War progress with the work continued thus :—

" The expenditure incurred during the year amounted to Rs. 1,83,704 and the total amount from the commencement of the work was Rs. 13,02,166.

About 509,300 cubic feet of masonry against 600,000 were constructed during the year, the total from the beginning of the work being 4,324,900 cubic feet. The total number of masons and labourers on all various branches of the works was 2,060."

The following year, *i.e.*, 1916-17 we hear :—

" The work in connection with Radhanagari Tank work was in progress for some months during the year under the supervision of Meherban Pirajirao Bapusaheb Ghatge, C.S.I., C.I.E., Jahagirdar of Kagal (Senior). The establishment consisted of one Executive Engineer assisted by 4 supervisors, 10 clerks, 4 accountant clerks, etc.

The expenditure incurred during the year amounted to Rs. 33,964 and the total amount from the commencement of the work was Rs. 13,36,130.

About 61,128 cubic feet of masonry were constructed during the year. The total construction work from the beginning was 4,386,028 cubic feet. The construction work being stopped for some months, the work done during the year was much less than that of the last year."

Financial and other difficulties seem to have prolonged this temporary stoppage so much so that the scheme is not yet complete. His Highness has left in it a legacy to his successor which I have no doubt he will fulfil as best as may be possible.

The political developments in Kolhapur about this time will be better described as part of a continuous story in the next chapter. They cover a period of about four years from 1907 to 1911. In order to be able to relieve that important chapter of the other and politically less important episodes of these years, I will notice these latter in the course of the present chapter.

The most important event of 1908 was of course the wedding of His Highness' only daughter, Her Highness Shri Radhabai *alias* Akkasaheb Maharaj with His Highness the Rajasaheb of Dewas (Senior). Being born in March 1894, she was ten years old when in 1904 she was betrothed to His Highness Shri Tukojirao Maharaja of Dewas. The bride-groom party wished to have the marriage ceremony performed the very next year. But as His Highness the Chhatrapati wrote to Mr. Fraser, he did not like that his daughter should be married so soon. Mr. Jardine, the Political Officer at Dewas, also refers to this in one of his letters to Col. Ferris, which shows how His Highness insisted upon avoiding a too early marriage. Says Mr. Jardine :—

"In regard to the time of the actual marriage, Dewas would have much preferred that the ceremony should take place next year. Mr. Bayley is, however, fully sensible of the Maharaja's wisdom in wishing that it should be postponed and feels sure that when he reflects further on this matter, the Raja will take the same view and will be satisfied with the betrothal being definitely and irrevocably settled now, the custody and education of the bride remaining with her parents till the Raja is old enough to make a suitable home for her. I am accordingly to ask you to acquaint His Highness the Maharaja with the contents of this letter and to ask to be so good as to write a formal letter accepting and ratifying the annexed conditions and testifying, subject thereto, to the conclusion of a solemn and binding betrothal between his daughter and His Highness the Raja of Dewas."

By his firm refusal to hasten the ceremony, His Highness avoided the evil of child marriage and made sure that his daughter was brought up according to his own ideas. Akkasaheb's education consisted of the usual literary course with an admixture of English sufficient for conversational purposes; horsemanship and shikar which are the heirlooms of the Maratha warrior class from ancient times; and domestic economy which His Highness always took care to teach all his children with the utmost rigour. His ideas on the subject of the education of his daughter and niece—the latter was married later on to the Rajasaheb of Akalkot—found very explicit expression in the course of correspondence regarding the betrothal of his niece, the daughter of Shri Bapusaheb, the Chief of Kagal. The Rajasaheb of Akalkot was brought up from early childhood in the company of a Miss Monxon. The Rajasaheb loved her like his mother and when the question turned on the education of the girl until she was married and after her betrothal with Akalkot, the bridegroom party insisted that the bride must be educated according to the Western ideas. It was urged and rightly too that since the Rajasaheb was being educated according to strictly European ideals, his future wife should be so educated as to make a wife to his liking which in other words meant that she should turn out an anglicised lady. The Maharaja—for it was he who directed all these negotiations—did not like this kind of education for his daughters. He was in one sense so conservative that his daughter was never allowed to be photographed—not even when she was a child—as it would not become a Purda lady. With ideas like these, he felt bound to settle the match with Akalkot as no better bridegroom was available for Bapusaheb's daughter. So on June 14, 1906, he writes to his Resident through whom the conversations proceeded:—

"Keeping my personal views aloof, I shall be ready to do what high caste reformed Marathas would not object to.

In the interests of my niece, I should have given in even more, but I am afraid it would look like Kunbi common Marathas, who would sacrifice anything and break all family custom, however degrading it may be, only to mix themselves up with high caste Marathas.

I should be ready to take the advice of officers who have served long in India and know very well the customs among high caste Marathas like yourself.

Mr. Bonus may perhaps take it for granted that I am too old-fashioned."

A few days later, on July 6, he elaborates his ideas more clearly to Mr. Bonus :—

"I quite agree with you that the future bride of Akalkot should have an education fitted to make her a suitable friend to her husband. That can be easily arranged. The late Ranee of Mudhol was educated here and amongst the Kolhapur families on similar lines. She being my aunt I knew her very well. She talked English fluently and got a first prize in needle work in the Presidency. Lady Reay, Lady Harris and both the Lords, especially Lord Harris took a great fancy for her. Though this was her education, she was quite a model in native manners and customs. She managed all household business was an excellent cook and knew well how to behave towards her relations and servants. The education of my niece, should be, I think, on those lines with the addition of riding and driving and such other outdoor exercises. That is my ideal. But of course every thing will be done according to your wishes.

"Please excuse me for saying what I consider to be safe education for our girls. Education solely under a European governess cannot give them an idea as to how they should behave towards their relations who may be their elders, equals or juniors and especially amongst us, where there is a joint family system, the matter has to be carefully looked to. All our religious concerns are left solely to the ladies of the

family and their ignorance of such matters will make them disliked for it. I saw some young children and among them were the sons of His Highness . . . . and his brother, aged 12 then. They had not the least idea of native customs, of behaving with their relations and of common Hindu religious rites. The parents had tried their best to give them such knowledge but it was all parrot-like. Such things can only be learnt by actually living and associating with families. A man brought up in a family does not commit mistakes when he grows up; because he has studied it from his childhood. Our native family education with the addition of English education with the help of governess for some hours is I think the best. The native system of educating and the custom of early marriage enable our girls to easily mould themselves according to the wishes of their husbands.

"Occasionally husbands brought up on Western lines like the young Fattesing Maharaj, heir-apparent of Baroda, give up their Western ideas of treating their wives and shut them up in Purda. As regards Fattesing Rao some say that he had to do so lest his daughter may have difficulties in her marriage. The education of my niece should be such that in case of an accident she might without difficulty be married into a very orthodox family or reformed family."

In December of the same year, His Highness says that he was not giving his daughter the same education as his niece; for "I wish her to be strictly native as is the wish of her husband and family." The arrangements ultimately approved were thus put by Colonel Ferris and they represented the Maharaja's views faithfully :—

"His Excellency the Governor understands that the arrangements which Your Highness intends adopting for the education and upbringing of the young lady are those sketched out in para. 4 of my letter to Government. These were communicated after a personal interview with Your Highness and the para. in question runs as follows :—

"I understand from His Highness that his only serious objections are:—(*a*) To the little girl being taken away from her home in Kolhapur and educated elsewhere under alien control. (*b*) To her residing with an English governess who should be constituted the sole authority as to her upbringing.

"I imagine that His Highness will agree to engage an English lady as resident governess, and arrange to give her a comparatively free hand in the matter of general education with the proviso that Marathi shall not be neglected as one of the studies: to allow the little girl to attend daily for a given number of hours for educational purposes and to accompany the governess on occasions for drives and to such social functions as would not be objectionable to the Maharaja's family. For the rest she would live at home and be taught her religious observances and the Rajwada etiquette, without counteracting the effect of the teaching of the governess' western system of behaviour.

"His Highness is, I understand, quite willing that his niece should be educated in every respect with a view to her being in future a companion to her husband, having regard to the education he is receiving, but at the same time anxious to safeguard her against an excess of anglicising which might estrange her now and in the future from other members of her family who have been brought up on more conservative lines."

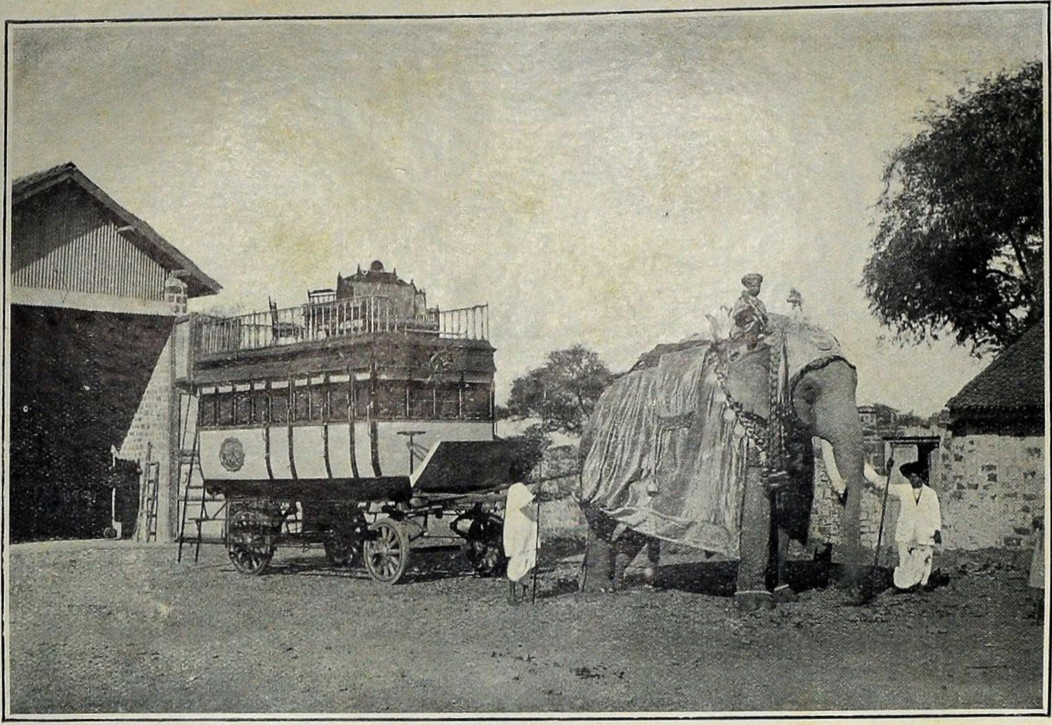
The education and training which His Highness wished to give his daughter were even more orthodox. The whole nature of the Maharaja was at first sight paradoxical and many who came in contact with him found that it baffled their analytical powers to a remarkable degree. After reading these views of the Maharaja one would be tempted to ask if this was the same personality who was carrying on a fight to the finish with the priests, defying all superstitions and throwing credulity to the winds? Or was this the same

person who openly dined with the Mahars a few years later? Was this again the same Maharaja who sent his little sons to England and left them under the sole charge of an American lady? Instances of such apparent inconsistencies could be infinitely multiplied. A very close friend of his once remarked to me that the later Maharaja belonged to the class of those exceptional men whose hearts were 'softer than the rose and harder than steel' as the Sanskrit poet put it. That, however, leaves the paradox where it is. I should think that his distinctive feature was a hard, practical, matter of fact, frame of mind. He never thought of anything in fixed terms. Conservative in the sense that he never cared to change where change did not serve a definite and desirable objective, he was a bold radical in the sense that he never shrunk back from any innovation provided that helped him to achieve the same goal. Endowed with a courage which few can hope to claim, he was never so much as an idealist of any kind. But given the object, he would never hesitate from taking the boldest conceivable step to achieve it, provided he thought that that was necessary. He would make no fetish of principle and ideals. Progress, he thought, must be from step to step and he would make it whatever the cost of it was. When one step forward justified adherence to traditional customs, he was an orthodox among the orthodox. When the next step necessitated a change however revolting it may be to others, he was equally ready to adopt the change and play the role of a reformer. Essentially he was, I think, a conservative wishing to hold fast to his moorings. But he was also a bold mariner, ready to launch his boat into the roughest waters if that was necessary. Conservative to the blackbone, he was ready to assimilate the new and adapt himself to the changes around him. It was not therefore inconsistency that brought on rejected novelties into his thoughts and deeds. A stern practicality of nature, a readily adaptable temperament, a concentrated attentiveness to the

exigencies of the task before him, this were the permanent substratum of his life, which reconciles the seeming contrarieties in his conduct to one who interprets them in the light of this trait of his character.

The marriage of Akkasaheb Maharaj was preceded by many visits of the future son-in-law to Kolhapur. That would be considered inappropriate in the code of orthodoxy. But His Highness rightly believed that increased contact with a future relative of this kind would be conducive to nothing but good to both sides. The genial Rajasaheb of Dewas was therefore a familiar figure in Kolahpur long before the 21st of March 1908 when the marriage took place. By his keen intelligence, simple and jovial nature, affable manners and easy accessibility, he had already endeared himself not only to the Court but to the people of Kolhapur. The marriage was thus hailed with joy by thousands of Kolhapurians among whom the Raja was a familiar figure. In memory of this event His Highness constituted a new town near the Shri Luxmi Tank at Dajipur, called it 'Radhanagari' after his daughter and located the Taluka Courts there for the convenience of the population around. The astrologers had chosen March 21 as the auspicious day for the marriage. "Very great preparations were then taken in hand. A permanent mandap for the celebration of the wedding in the courtyard of the Old Palace and a temporary one in the compound of the Bavadekar's Wada where the bridegroom and his party were to be accommodated, were built up. Arches were erected on the roads by which processions in connection with the marriage were to pass. State bungalows and the houses hired for the accommodation of the guests were put into trim order. Tents were pitched and a lovely camp for European guests was made near the Residencey. A committee under the presidentship of the Chief of Kagal, His Highness' brother, was appointed for making every arrangement in connection with the ceremony. At the particular desire of His Highness, the Government were

pleased to extend the term of service of Colonel Ferris who had from the beginning taken a prominent part in bringing about the match and to His Highness' great delight, both Colonel and Mrs. Ferris were present on the occasion. They voluntarily took upon themselves to look to the comforts of the European guests invited to the marriage and His Highness was very grateful to them for the great trouble they took in looking after the guests' camp. The State Officers were entrusted with duties according to their rank in connection with the various functions of the marriage. From the beginning of the month of March 1908 Kolhapur seemed to have been stirred into a state of unwonted activity and the preliminary ceremonies connected with the marriage began. His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior being a kinsman of the Rajasaheb of Dewas and a friend of His Highness the Chhatrapati Maharaja who had given him a personal invitation to grace the ceremony by his presence wished very much to be present on this auspicious occasion; but owing to urgent business, he could not absent himself from Gwalior on the date of the marriage on March 8. Out of deference to His Highness' wishes and to take part in certain preliminary ceremonies, he was kind enough to go to Kolhapur as an honoured guest with his family. His Highness the Maharaja very much appreciated this courtesy, cordial rejoicings followed and the *gadagner* feasts passed off with great *eclat*. The bridegroom and his party consisting of about 600 men arrived on the 15th March by a special train and he was taken from the station to the Bawadekar's Wada with great pomp in a grand procession. Most of the European as well as Indian guests arrived on Friday, the 20th March. The principal European guests included His Excellency the Right Honourable Sir George Clarke, the Governor of Bombay, accompanied by Miss Clarke, His Excellency Commodore Sir George J. S. Warrander, the Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Royal Navy, East



The Elephant Chariot.

Indies Squadron, the Hon. Mr. and Mrs. Muir Mackenzie and General Sir Archibald Hunter, Commanding Southern Army, and among the Indian guests were His Highness the Maharaja of Bhavnagar and almost all the Chiefs of the Southern Maratha Country States. The position of the Maharaja as the ruler of the premier Indian State of the Bombay Presidency and as the direct descendant of the Great Shivaji, combined with the fact that such a function had not taken place for more than 50 years in Kolhapur, invested the occasion with exceptional interest. The assembly of distinguished visitors from all parts of India was a most noteworthy feature. The City was alive with swarms of people daily coming from all parts of the Deccan to witness the ceremony.

The marriage ceremony took place in the evening of Saturday in the spacious pandal specially erected for the purpose. The mandap was lit by electric light and kept cool by electric fans. Sofas and comfortable chairs were arranged for the guests in the Hall. The female members of His Highness' household and other ladies invited to the marriage were seated in both galleries on the Eastern and Western sides of the Hall. Before the time appointed for the nuptials, all His Highness' guests including His Excellency the Governor, His Highness the Thakoresaheb of Bhavnagar, and other guests came and took their seats. The bridegroom arrived in a grand procession and was seated near the *Bohole* (the wedding platform). The people enjoyed this as a great holiday and swarmed in thousands in and outside the Palace wherever they could gain a view of the procession and of the religious rites performed in the Hall.

As the lucky moment drew near, the bride was brought out of the Palace and made to stand before the bridegroom by a curtain marked by the lucky *Swastik*. The priests standing on either side repeated lucky verses and the guests assembled threw red rice at the pair. As soon as the astrologer announced the auspicious moment, the horn blowers blew their horns, the

musicians played their instruments and guns were fired. The curtain was then removed. The bride and bridegroom saw and garlanded each other and were declared husband and wife. Flowers, pan, attar and sugar were distributed and the guests then dispersed.

In connection with these festivities, His Highness got about eighteen Maratha brides married to their bridegrooms. The day following several other couples were also married in the marriage pandal including some Musalman couples. These couples were ordered to receive a daily allowance for maintenance during their life time. This is a characteristically Indian custom inspired by the belief that such beneficent acts tend to the happiness of the royal bride and deserve the blessings of many poor people, who would otherwise be involved in ruinous marriage expenses so well-known among the poor in this country. The inclusion of Musalmans was due no doubt to His Highness' own liberality of outlook.

More interesting to the reader now than this, a State Banquet was given on the following night in honour of His Excellency the Governor and the distinguished guests who were pleased to grace this occasion by their presence. From this day to the home taking (Varat) ceremony, sumptuous feasts were daily held in the Old Palace in honour of the bridegroom and his party. For the entertainment of the guests and particularly of the swarms of people that had flocked to Kolhapur from far and near there was a grand display of fireworks on the opposite bank of the Panchaganga River on Sunday, the 22nd. Feasts to Brahmins were not forgotten either by the Maharaja or the Brahmins. The bridegroom and his party were entertained with music, dramatic performances, wrestling matches, etc., and the *Varat* procession came off in the evening of Sunday, the 29th. It was a splendid spectacle. The bride and bridegroom were seated in an Ambari (canopied hawda) placed on the back of a big elephant.

His Highness The Maharaja Sir Tukojirao Puar, K.C.S.I.,
Maharaja of Dewas, Senior.

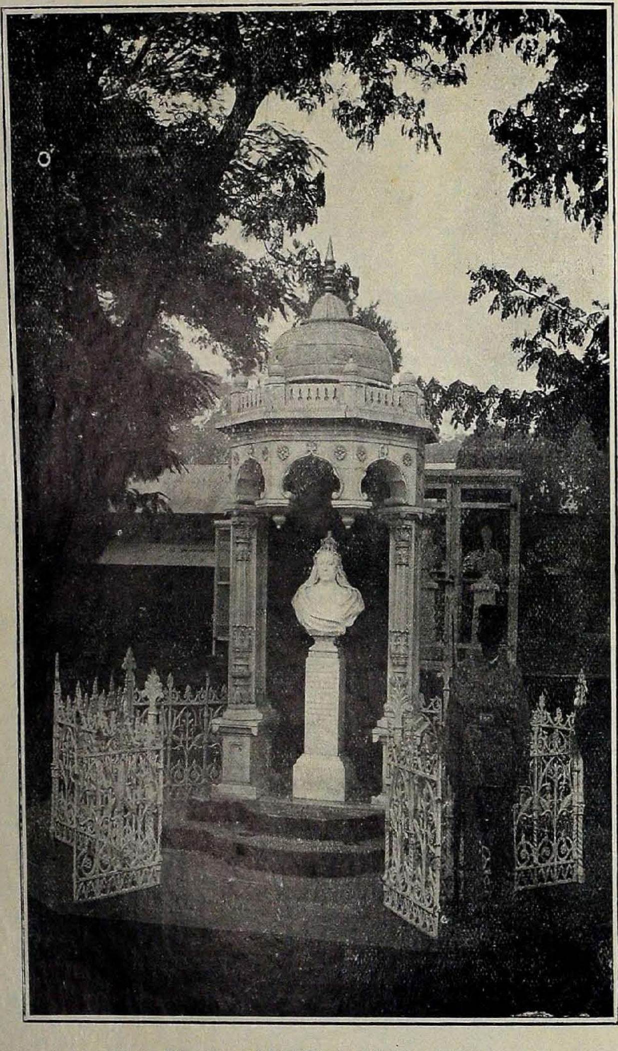
Her Highness the Maharani Saheb of Dewas, Senior.
Daughter of His Highness.

With the Varat ended the marriage festivities which lasted for more than a fortnight. The bridegroom and his party left Kolhapur on the 8th April 1908.

It must be noted here that pandits learned in the Vedic lore had been specially invited for the occasion from sacred places like Benares, Nasik, Wai and Vedic ritual was strictly observed in all religious ceremonies. But it must be added that the rival Swami of Sankeshwar Math and the Brahmins of Kolhapur tried their level best to scare away the assembled Brahmins from the ceremony so that the Vedokta might not be performed. But theirs was now the lot of Fabius who had to cry 'Romans! I banish you!' when he was himself the banished of the City. The controversy seems to have agitated the sacred atmosphere of Benares too where a futile attempt was made to outcaste the Brahmins of that place for taking part in these ceremonies. But it died out before very long.

In commemoration of the marriage, His Highness the Maharaja of Bhavnagar invested a sum of Rs. 3,000 at 4 per cent. interest in the Kolhapur State Treasury to found two scholarships and a gold medal to be named after Shrimati Radhabai Akkasaheb Maharaj and awarded to deserving girls in the girls' school at Kolhapur. The medal is awarded to the best all-round character among the school girls. Similarly His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur founded on this occasion three scholarships to be awarded to deserving girls in schools of the State outside the Town of Kolhapur and in grateful remembrance of the visit of Her Highness the accomplished Maharani Saheb of Bhavnagar to Kolhapur, the scholarships are named after Her Highness. This was one among the many tokens of the loving friendship between the two Maharajas. In January 1907 His Highness the Chhatrapati had paid a visit to Bhavnagar and on that occasion, too, Bhavnagar showed his great affection for the Chhatrapati by naming a new Palace after him.

The visit of Sir George Clarke, the Governor of Bombay, in connection with this marriage was important from many points of view. The most fruitful result of it was a clearer understanding between the Maharaja and the Governor in respect of several questions not only relating to Kolhapur but the politics of the country generally. We shall have to review this subject later on. It would be enough here to say that they had some frank talk on the situation. His Highness was, as we shall see, a believer in the policy of firm and bold action to suppress the rising spirit of lawlessness in the country. The corrective or punitive measures usually adopted by the British Government were in his opinion entirely unsuited to the end in view. 'Your measures are a red rag to the sparrow,' said he. Sir George could not easily see what he meant and tried to correct him by asking 'you mean a red rag to the bull?' 'No,' said the Maharaja, 'to a sparrow, I mean.' 'Our farmers,' he continued, 'tie a red rag to a pole which they set up to frighten and scare away the birds which eat the grain on the standing crops. This red rag succeeds for a little while. But after a little experience, the sparrows find out that it is nothing to be afraid of and then they use the red-rag-pole as a resting place or as a thing to play with. That is how your measures work. Your prosecutions put down the agitator or anarchist a little while, but after a little experience, the convicted seditionist finds that his popularity grows with the prosecution, his paper—if he is an editor—circulates more widely and like the sparrow he begins to play with the red rag which you think will scare him away from his path.' It requires no imagination to see that this view must have told considerably on the mind of the Governor. The public at large, however, learnt only what His Excellency said in his public utterances. On the day of the marriage, His Excellency had an opportunity to give expression to his views regarding the Maharaja's loyalty and administration. Early in the



The Bust of Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

morning, every one of any importance in Kolhapur was astir at 9 a.m., as His Excellency was to unveil a statue bust of Her Majesty the late Queen-Empress, which had been erected under a graceful chatri in the garden near the Judge's Court as a permanent memorial, in Kolhapur, of one who loved her Indian subjects and whose love was returned ten-fold. Thither everyone wended his way, and there was a notable gathering in the shamiana to meet Sir George Clarke. His Highness the Maharaja was early on the scene, his splendid figure well set off by the picturesque Maratha dress. The Chief of Kagal, who had made most of the perfect arrangements of those ceremonies, was also present and, a little later, the assembly was joined by His Highness the Thakore of Bhavnagar and his Diwan Mr. Prabhashankar Pattani. When His Excellency arrived, he was escorted by the Maharaja to the silver chair on the dais, where he had on his right the Maharaja and on his left the Thakore Sahib of Bhavnagar. The Maharaja opened the proceedings by explaining the circumstances which had brought them together, saying :—

"The statue bust of Her Majesty the late Queen-Empress for the unveiling of which you have done me the honour of assembling here is, I need hardly say, a very humble token of my loyalty and devotion to that Sovereign. The modest memorial had long been ready, but I have been waiting for a suitable opportunity to have the ceremony of unveiling it performed at the hands of the Governor of Bombay. Your Excellency's predecessor, Lord Lamington, had promised to do us the honour, but his sudden departure to England necessitated its postponement and it now gives me very great pleasure to avail myself of Your Excellency's presence here for the performance of the function. The material and moral progress of my little State has been almost coeval with Her Majesty's long and glorious reign. Only a year after Her Majesty's accession to the throne, the last ruler

of this State, who exercised full sovereign powers, died and his demise eventually led to the establishment of direct British Administration. Owing to the untimely death of most of his successors, the State continued under British management, except for a few years under His Highness Shivaji IV, *alias* Babasaheb Maharaja, till 1894. In that year I was invested with ruling powers. If signs of vigilant supervision and enlightened rule in the interests of subjects are visible in the State, the credit is due to the excellent work done during all these years under the guidance of able British Officers and neither my subjects nor myself have failed to appreciate it.

" The occasion of the Diamond Jubilee of Her Majesty's reign was marked by the establishment of two institutions—both directed to the relieving of human suffering, *viz.*, the Kolhapur Infantry Hospital and the Leper Asylum. If there was anything for which the late Queen-Empress was known and admired, it was her solicitude for the poor and distressed and her constant efforts to brighten their lot. The institutions, therefore, aptly commemorate the softer side of her nature, the pre-eminently feminine qualities that mark the divine element in womanhood. After her demise, my subjects raised a fund with a view to help the poor indebted farmers and manyan encumbered estate has profited by it. Another institution was also started in her honour, *viz.*, the Victoria Boarding Institution for the Marathas. It was in the interests of one of the backward communities of my subjects. There Maratha boys are lodged, fed and looked after while they are studying at the Rajaram High School and College.

" The Institution has proved a success. It has attracted many a promising Maratha youth whose education would otherwise have been neglected and the institute is already proud of its fruits. Such are the different ways adopted by my people and myself to show their appreciation of the

noble qualities of heart and head of that Sovereign. She has bequeathed them to her progeny as a legacy richer than her extensive dominions and the Imperial Crown. Our august Sovereign the King-Emperor (in honour of whose visit to India as Prince of Wales, the noble edifice before you, the Albert Edward Hospital, is named) has already earned the glorious sobriquet 'peace-maker of the world' and his son His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales has endeared himself to the Princes and people of India by his charming simplicity of manner no less than by his genuine sympathy for them. His celebrated message to the bureaucracy of India is engraved on the heart of every Indian. What India wants, His Royal Highness said, is sympathy. These are the fruits of the rich inheritance bequeathed to the father and son by the late Queen-Empress, whose name was a synonym for peace and unity, qualities that grace feminine nature."

His Highness concluded with a graceful reference to the great services rendered by Colonel Ferris, the retiring Political Agent, whose name has been permanently associated in Kolhapur with the fine Public Market built by the Municipality and whose memory was always dear to the Maharaja all his life.

The formal opening of the Chhatri and the bust being over, His Excellency, in the course of his speech, described how the Institutions started in Kolhapur were the most appropriate memorials of the most illustrious friend of India, the late Queen Victoria. He made a passing remark on the 'great example to your people by being yourself inoculated,' which His Highness had set against the puerile political agitation then being carried on by a section of the Deccan Press against the plague-preventive inoculation suggested by Professor Haffkine. He continued :—

" In days when criticism is general, it is pleasant to hear Your Highness' testimony to the good work that was done

in the State of Kolhapur when it was under British Administration. If the foundation thus laid was sound, Your Highness, in your fourteen years of rule, built a fine edifice on it, and under your wise and sympathetic government, your people have made notable progress in many directions. I know that Your Highness has at heart a great scheme of irrigation which will remove from a large portion of this State all danger from the droughts which bring so much loss and suffering upon the poor cultivators. I hope to-morrow to see the site of this proposed reservoir and to form an idea of the nature of the work involved."

In his speech at the banquet His Excellency warmly congratulated the happy pair who were married and wished every happiness to them from the 'union of the historic Houses of Kolhapur and Dewas.'

Thus ended the first great event of the Maharaja's domestic life. One of the visitors to Kolhapur who attended the ceremonies concluded his notes thus:—

"His Highness the Maharaja would be a notable figure anywhere—tall of stature, dignified in bearing, but in the characteristic Maratha dress, he is imposing. He is one of those Princes who finds his occupations in his own State, his pleasures amongst his own people. For external marks of the profitable character of His Highness' rule one has only to go to Kolhapur and see the signs of material prosperity. Those who understand have also watched with admiration His Highness' courageous determination to break down priestly domination in its most offensively arrogant form, which he has strongly beaten under foot. The occasion was all the more interesting because it brought to Kolhapur for the preliminary ceremonies His Highness the Maharaja Scindia, able administrator and 'beau sabreur', one of the most remarkable figures in India. The actual ceremonies were witnessed by His Highness the Thakor of Bhavanagar, ruler of the model State of Kathiawar, who at the Rajkot

Shri Yuvaraj Vikramsinh Maharaj,
Dewas, Senior.

College, and later under the tutorship of Mr. Fraser, established a friendship with the Maharaja which grows stronger with the lapse of years. Scindia, Kolhapur, Bhavanagar —meet these partners with the British Raj in the governance of India. This being the home of Maratha power, the Sirdars of the Deccan make a braver show than those of the later Maratha States of the Centre and the North, but the same features are found from Gwalior's northernmost districts to Kolhapur in the South."

His Highness became a grandfather at 1-30 p.m., on April 4, 1910, when Her Highness the Ranisaheb of Dewas gave birth to a son at Kolhapur. This joyful news spread all over the town and the public expressed their joy in various ways. Gudhyas were erected, Tornas were hung and several dishes of sweetmeats were distributed by various communities in the town. His Highness the Rajasaheb of Dewas accompanied by his brother Shrimant Bhausaheb and others arrived at Kolhapur on the 8th April 1910 for celebration of the Barse ceremony. The ceremony of naming the child was performed with great pomp on the 21st of the same month and the child was named "Vikram Sinha." In commemoration of this happy event, all offices and schools were given a holiday. A few of the prisoners were released and remissions granted to others. Thus the Princess of Kolhapur gave to Dewas its heir-apparent and became herself the mother of another royal house.

The Yuvaraj of Kolhapur and his younger brother, Prince Shivaji, were now growing into boyhood when their education became a question of the greatest importance. Like their sister they had already become excellent riders. His Highness realised the need of making adequate and proper provision for training them both for their future responsibilities. The best available Marathi teachers were already taking the earlier steps to fit them for the education which His Highness now wished to impart to them. About

this time, he came into close contact with Dr. Wanless and Dr. Vail, the two eminent American Missionary Doctors at Miraj, whose fame as the healers of human suffering had become established throughout the Deccan. He admired their work in all its aspects—medical, educational and evangelical. If one were to know the inner developments of the human mind, it would easily be discovered that the change in His Highness' intellectual outlook which became manifest in the later years of his life was largely due to the unperceived influence that the Missionary work of these Doctors and their American colleagues had upon him. From this time, the two doctors became his principal medical advisors and friends, so much so that he spent many days in the year in the house he built by the side of their Hospital at Miraj. He was anxious to have them at Kolhapur and for this purpose induced them to start a branch of their hospital at Kolhapur where special arrangements were made for the treatment of women and children patients. The report for 1909-10 says :—

"His Highness the Chhatrapati Maharaja was pleased to hand over to the American Mission of Presbyterian Church, the Kavla Bungalow and the old Military Hospital with their outhouses after putting them in repairs at a cost of Rs. 5,000.

The generous offer made by His Highness was greatly appreciated by the Mission and accepted with thanks. The buildings were duly given in charge of Dr. Wanless, who is an attorney of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, with Rs. 5,000 for putting them in proper repairs according to his convenience. A further sum of Rs. 3,000 was sanctioned by His Highness and given to the Hospital as a State help at its starting. The working of getting the buildings repaired was in progress at the close of the year."

It need hardly be said that this Branch is doing good work at Kolhapur. The Maharaja was not content with

this. He later on proposed to take Mr. Vail as the Surgeon in charge of his own Albert Edward Hospital at Kolhapur. But in the true spirit of a missionary Dr. Vail declined to accept the offer. I am the servant of God to whom I have devoted my life, said the Doctor, and I cannot accept any other service. I cite this only to show how deeply His Highness admired the Missionaries. It was as a result of this that when he had to provide for the education of his children, his thoughts at once turned towards them. The proposal to send the Princes to Rajkot came to him with influential support. But His Highness rejected it unhesitatingly. I have already given one extract from a letter of his in a previous chapter which gives a reason for this. When Sir Claude Hill, then in Kathiawar, asked His Highness if any of the Kumars would go to Rajkot for their education, he wrote (27th April 1909) :—

"You have asked me whether any Kumars will be sent to Rajkot from the Southern Mahratta Country. This question was started some months back and was flatly refused by the parents. I have made special arrangement about my sons owing to Dr. Irwin's death, who was a very nice kind hearted American gentleman.* I gave my opinion that unless certain changes could be made, which I am not in a position to suggest being much way off, I think the College will not attract students. The parents are not willing to send their children to Rajkot though they are ready to send them to England. Students of other institutions speak well of them after they become men ; but that is not so with this College. The students themselves cry it down, which naturally frightens the parents of the boys. I am really very sorry I am one of them."

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*Throughout this book I have quoted from His Highness' letters without the least attempt to improve their language. The faults of grammar are nothing when compared with the great advantage of reading the subject of the biography in his own style.

The question came before him in another form when Mr. C. H. Candy, once the Principal of his College, proposed to start a Rajkumar Class in Kolhapur. As we know Mr. Candy left Kolhapur in 1899 with great reluctance and now that he was on the verge of his retirement from Government service, he longed to be back in Kolhapur in some capacity or other. He would have been glad, I have reasons to think, to be restored to his old College which he loved so much. Though his departure from Kolhapur was surrounded by unhappy circumstances, His Highness was ready to forget the past and turn a new leaf in the book. Some of his friends, naturally enough, doubted the wisdom of allowing Mr. Candy to be back in the atmosphere which he had rightly or wrongly—we need not go into that question now—so much disturbed. But His Highness was nothing if not a lover of bold steps and he was for some years prior to 1909 on very good terms with Mr. Candy. Not only did he allow him to return but helped him in many ways to establish the Sardars' class which he is still running. But he was not willing to attach his sons to that class to be drilled, as he thought, in a stereotyped mode of educaton. He writes on August 14, 1909 :—

"I really approve the idea of starting a Chief's class here and boys from Satara, Belgaum and Poona may join it. But it must be left to itself and there should be no control like the one at Indore, Ajmere and Rajkot where boys are taught against the wishes of their parents. For instance, if the parents wish to send their children for Royal Engineering or any other Military training which would enable them to join the I. S. T., this sort of education would never do. Of course they receive good general education, but I doubt very much if it would suit the heir-apparent much less the second son of a chief, and so I think there would be great difficulty of securing boys. In my opinion, it would be a great success if Mr. Candy with a couple of assistants coach

these boys for different subjects only and allows them to join the Rajaram College. The fees will depend upon the circumstances of each particular individual just as a pleader charges his fees according to the means of his clients. In this way, the boys will set themselves to qualify for the special subjects they want and I think it will be a great success. But on the contrary if a regular class is opened and if the boys from Poona, Satara and Belgaum down to Hubli join, it is alright. But I personally doubt very much the success of such an undertaking; because even at Rajkot and Ajmere, there is so much difficulty about the boys, and you yourself being at Rajkot know the troubles. I think it is a great pity to force the parents to give their children the education which they don't want. The chiefs have now been so well educated that they know the interest of their children much better than any one else. Of course I shall not send my children to this class. My own personal opinion is that the Sardars' class will be a success only when it is a coaching institution. However, if you wish to try as Mr. Candy wishes, I say it is worth a trial and I wish it every success. Undoubtedly it is worth trying at any rate and I shall do anything within my powers to make it a success."

It was with ideas like this that he selected Dr. Irwin and Mrs. Irwin to be the tutors of his sons. Dr. Irwin was a Ph. D. and a man of sound scholarship and sweet nature. Mrs. Irwin who had to take sole charge of the Princes owing to the unfortunate death of her husband soon after his appointment to the Tutorship was also a lady entirely fitted for the work entrusted to her. They opened a class of their own in the Palace under the direct supervision of the Maharaja's old teacher, the present Diwan. Of this "the Yuvaraj School" as it was called, we are told:—

"His Highness was pleased to open a new institution, *viz.*, 'Yuvaraj School' for the education of his two sons. The school consists of three classes. The two young Kumars

and their two young companions are taught in the Rajkumar Class and the other two classes consist of 7 students, three of whom are learning Marathi standard III and 4 standard II. These students are from the families of His Highness' Sardars and Jahagirdars. The Rajkumars and their two companions were examined in the month of November by Rao Bahadur Diwan Saheb and were found to have nearly completed English standard II. They are now learning under the English standard III. The companions in the other two classes are examined under Marathi standards II and I and are at present learning under Marathi III and II standards. The Rajkumars daily go out riding in the morning. They usually take swimming and gymnastic exercises. Every possible care is taken for their physical development."

Mrs. Irwin had henceforth (since 1909-10) the entire responsibility for the education of the future ruler of Kolhapur and his brother. His Highness therefore wisely treated her as a member of his own family and she herself, as we shall have occasion to see when we come to deal with the Kumar's stay in England later on, looked upon her charge with the care and affection of a highly cultured mother. His Highness tells Dr. Wanless in February 1909 :—

"I write to you as I could not trouble Mrs. Irwin at this time and also it is an etiquette among us not to write to ladies when we can do by writing to gentlemen. Education of children is of the greatest importance. I want beyond doubt to get children educated by Mrs. Irwin and it is my desire that they should be continuously under her for some years. I hear that she is very seedy and if she continues like that she may be better for some months and get ill again. That meant a break in the studies of my children, and apart from that, the most important thing is that if she works and stays in this country, she will completely break down.

Break in studies at this age may do, but not after a year. I propose therefore that as I consider Mrs. Irwin as a member of our family, she should go to England, recoup her health and return in six months, that is, about July next and come quite fresh to take charge of the children and never go back for many years again. Now about the hospital, I have to make proposals to you and I hope you agree and set to work at once in that direction.''

About the end of 1910, His Highness had to think of the further progress of his Kumars for which the provision made did not prove adequate. He wished to place them in as European surroundings as possible for some time without running the risk of their abandoning the desirable features of Indian manners and idea. If the Princes were left in an European atmosphere at a time when they would naturally like to be independent of elderly control, which would tempt them to contract anti-Indian prejudices such as he anxiously desired to avoid, he feared evil consequences such as he had seen in the cases of the Kumars of some other States. He did not, however, minimise the importance of the boys cultivating the better habits of European boys under European supervision. The remedy he found was to give them the benefit of European training and discipline when they were too young to come under the disastrous influence of evils such as had ruined the careers of some Princes that he knew. There were two courses open to him. One of them was to send them to England at an early age so that they would have the advantage of an English public school for some years and could then come back to their home before the vices of European life had any chance of taking root in their minds. A less risky course open to him was to have a European School nearer home in which they could stay without losing touch with the salutary influence of their family life. At first, His Highness preferred the second course and desired to send the boys to the Boarding School for European boys

at Panchganni. Let us know his ideas from his own pen :—

"I am sending Mr. Kurne to you to get information about the Panch Ganni School as I am thinking of sending some of my Sardars' children and also of my brother-in-law for education there. They know English. I want to send my own sons to a Missionary School like this or if possible the same. This matter I shall discuss with you personally. I am sending the children just to try an experiment and see the result. If good, my boys will follow."

On inquiry it was found that the school was only open to European boys. What was the alternative? His Highness writing to the same gentleman, Dr. Wanless, on April 2, 1911, says :—

"I learn that Indian boys are not admitted into that school and the Principal has brought his brother and is thinking of starting another school on the same lines under the latter's supervision. Could you oblige me by inducing him to open a school here for European as well as Indian boys? I can give him free quarters for boarders and also for the school and the Principal, and my one condition would be that they must have European boys in the school and that my Sardars' sons should be admitted at a fixed, moderate rate. The site is about near the Rukadi bridge. The place was intended for leper house and afterwards turned into a plague camp for my grandmother and Residency Officers. The brother of the Principal of the Panch Gani School may be asked to see the place.

Sister Imelda, Superioress at Panchganni, has taken charge of my Sardars' children. If you know her, will you kindly drop a line? I am an admirer of Missionary work and I hope you will be able to induce them to come here.

I would not like to have real low caste boys only, but it must contain a greater number of boys of Europeans and

Eurasians of position. If there are a few others, I do not mind. The school should be manned by English teachers only."

Not content with this indirect method of approaching the gentleman concerned, His Highness wrote on the next day :—

"I have introduced myself to you. Mr. Kurne, who came to see you with letter from Dr. Wanless, speaks very highly about your school and has got admiration for it.

I wish your brother could open a branch of it here. I am herewith sending you a copy of my letter to Dr. Wanless. Please treat these letters as private because from the copy of my letter to Dr. Wanless you will see why I want the school here.

I shall feel obliged if you will consider my request made in that letter favourably.

I request you to keep these letters private and confidential because no Brahmin would like my ideas."

Dr. Wanless replied that the school was intended specially for Europeans and it might not be easy to induce the managers to start a branch at Kolhapur. The Principal proposed to examine the offer in his reply of April 4; but nothing came of these discussions. Probably, the Mission did not see its way to open a school at Kolhapur. The only alternative to this attempt was to pack off the Princes to England for a few years which His Highness did in 1912. We shall revert to that in another chapter.

About the middle of the year 1909, His Highness had in mind the examination of the Peshwas' Dafter at Poona with the object of publishing therefrom such materials of the history of the Maratha Empire as could be gleaned by an impartial study of that Dafter. This is how he interested himself in this work :—

"Let me tell you how I came to take interest in history. I myself as a boy was fond of history and from some of the old Bakhars I found that the B historians had not

given the right side and even Ranade's history is not only not free from that fault but is quite partial to the Bs.

When I began to inquire about historians, I came across R. and P. After consulting my European friends I found P. to be a better man. My experience about him, however, was quite the contrary and hence our cordial terms ended. He first told me that he had no Brahminical feeling and would write about the Vedokta question in my favour. He showed me some papers favourable to the backward classes, took money for his labour, but never came near us to help us.

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Then I opened my eyes and began to make inquiries. After this utter disappointment I induced Professor Dongre and introduced him to the councillors and the secretaries as I know he would do the work as I wish and bring the true history before the public."

The progress of the State in some other directions may be described in the Maharaja's own words which would make a good conclusion of this chapter .—

" I would like to write to you in short what we have been doing since you left us. In the way of sport Kolhapur is, I may say, a really good place for pigsticking. There was no pig in your time and we had always to leave our State to get that. Stag hunting and tiger shooting are also improved. In order to do these things we had to cut and also to preserve jungles. You know it was very difficult to get black buck then. But now we can get them by scores. Since you left us, I built about 20 new tanks. But my ambition was not satisfied. So I have taken up now a big irrigation scheme and the tank will be the biggest in India. I spend all my energy on it. Now Bapusaheb and myself are working on the site. I only wish that it may prove a success.

In the way of commerce, you may remember Kolhapur was nowhere compared to Poona or even small towns but let

me give you only one item of trade in Jagree or Gul. In one year, we sent out about 50 lakhs of rupees worth of it, and groundnuts about 20 lakhs."

The most eventful of the Maharaja's activities of this period, however, yet remains untold. May be that we are as yet too near this and many other phases of the career which remains to be described and that the narration of the complete story is not yet possible. But all the same, so far as it can be told, it is a story full of interest and full of lessons.

CHAPTER XVI.

Sedition and Anarchism.

The Shivaji movement in Kolhapur—Another development traced—The work of Jotirao Fule—The Brahmin attitude towards his ideals—The three currents in the thought of the Deccan—The Shivaji Club—The Brahmin position in 1906—The Samarth Vidyalaya—The Vishva Vritta Trial—The brewing storm—Bomb outrages anticipated in 1906—The attempts in Kolhapur—The Prosecutions—The little rift in the lute—The Press Attacks on H. H.—The Press Act—An appreciation of the work—Critics answered—The Durbar of 1911—The Vyasantol Honours bestowed—The Feudatories—Progress of education—The Marriage of the niece, The Mereweather Pavilion—The Watan law modified—Lord Willingdon and the Holkar in Kolhapur—H. H.'s failing health.

THE origin of the seditious and anarchist outrages in Kolhapur in 1908-09 must be traced in the history of the Shivaji Club movement of 1899. Ostensibly this club was started in memory of the great hero of the Mahratta Nation to whose valour and statesmanship Kolhapur owed its existence as a State. I have shown before that the Maharaja had an almost superstitious reverence for this founder of his House and worshipped his image as if it represented and symbolised a divine manifestation. The Political Officers in Kolhapur had also welcomed the growing affection which people felt for the memory of that great man. Under these circumstances there was no reason why the Shivaji Club, if guided by reason and commonsense, should not have proved a source of noble inspiration and benefit to the rising generation of Kolhapur. But as it was, its youthful organisors were misled by wrong analogies into dangerous paths which involved them and others in difficulties. Mr. Tilak's teaching, to which a reference has already been made, was directly responsible for this untoward result. The moral codes of ordinary humanity, he had said, would not apply to a great

hero like Shivaji. Murder was not murder if committed by men of his class. Did not the young men of Maharashtra yearn to serve their country like Shivaji ? Who was to decide that any one of them had or had not in himself the full potentialities of a Shivaji of the future ? History might prove that only one of them was a Shivaji ; but till they had made their history, one and all of them had the moral right to follow the ethics of their model. Then again Shivaji was not a man who had infringed the rules of common morals and law. Did not his followers and comrades help him in the murder, if it was a murder (I need not here examine the question whether Shivaji was the aggressor or was acting in self-defence in the struggle with Afzulkhan), which was morally justified by Mr. Tilak ? These were the inevitable corollaries of Mr. Tilak's fallacious teachings and they deeply influenced the minds of the young men whose minds had become a fertile soil for the growth of such seeds on account of the natural discontent which the unemployed myriads of our half educated boys had been everywhere feeling.

There was another development in the mental life of young Maharashtra, which considerably favoured the growth of such pernicious ideas. The British Government in Maharashtra had replaced the Brahmin Government of the Peshwa days. It is wrong to call it the Maratha Government; for, that had already been destroyed by the Peshwas in the middle of the eighteenth century. It was the Brahmins who dominated the Maharashtra and its adjoining districts—we shall call it the Deccan—when the British took Poona and pensioned off Bajirao. For a time they reconciled themselves to the new order of things. It was superior in organisation and opened out not only new ideals of life, but new openings for earning wealth and regaining influence and power. The displeased community, being traditionally literate, had an easy advantage over others—the ninety-five per cent. of the population in Maharshtra—in the field of

western education, which enabled them to monopolise almost the whole of the bureaucratic system established by the British in this part of the country. The new judicial system, a far more technical and intricate one than was ever known to the people, threw open new and wide avenues to wealth and power. The Services and the Bar became thus the battlefields on which success leading to prosperity had to be won and *there* the Brahmin was easily victorious. The rest of the Mahratta nation, however, was driven to the wall. The rise of the Peshwas had already deprived them of a large—a full half or even more—of the Jagirs and Inams. If a few big States still remained or came into being, it was only in Central or Northern India and in Gujarat. If Kolhapur still lived, it was only in the teeth of Brahmin hatred and enmity. And as a result of this enmity, the power of the Kolhapur Raj was narrowed down to an ever diminishing sphere within which too the Brahmin Jahgirdars had committed many inroads on the prestige of the State. No better illustration of this reduction of the prestige of the Marathas in Kolhapur could be found than in the history of Ichalkaranji, which was originally a slice cut out from the Maratha Commander of the Kolhapur Army, but which eventually became six times larger than the Jahagir of the Commander himself! Numerous Brahmin Chiefs and lesser Jahagirdars, Inamdars and Watandars were given birth to throughout the Deccan by the Brahmin rulers and they had displaced the old historic ruling castes of the land. British rule completed the work thus begun. Thousands of offices were erected anew. The judiciary gave rise to another novel class, the lawyers. All this contributed to the rise into power of a community which was new to power in the Deccan. I do not mean that the British gave these opportunities to the Brahmins with any conscious or deliberate purpose. The intention obviously was to recruit men for these new professions from the ranks of those who received English education. But the mistake was

that the British administrators did not recognise the vantage point of the Brahmin, which the non-Brahmin had not got and which it would have been both wise and just to secure to the non-Brahmins. The *laissez faire* policy had—and still very largely has—undisputed sway over the British mind which could not, therefore, realise the implications of the caste system and the conditions created by the long history of the country. The result was that the Brahmins could now exploit the remaining resources of the masses to their own fullest advantage. Crores of rupees thus annually went into the Brahmin pockets partly in the form of pay and fees paid to lawyers but also largely in the form of bribes which were liberally paid in the earlier days by the ignorant masses who understood neither the language nor the administrative system of the British. All this wealth again enabled the Brahmins to acquire the landed property of the ryots who had relied solely on this as the source of their livelihood. The degradation of the non-Brahmins and the corresponding elevation of the Brahmins was thus complete under the British rule. The first result of this was entirely satisfactory from the view point of the new rulers. The Brahmins of the earlier British period in the Deccan, enriched by the new Rule and dazzled by the sunlight of western civilisation which it introduced to them, remained loyal and grateful. The non-Brahmins were, indeed, going from bad to worse. Their poverty increased by leaps and bounds, though undoubtedly the wealth of the Province increased simultaneously. They knew not how and why they were worse off than ever before. Firmly established on the top of a loyal and intelligent Brahmin bureaucracy which they and their predecessors had created, and ignorant of and indifferent to the aggravated miseries and degradation of the masses, the rulers took things easily and persisted in the policy of spreading western education among a community which in the Deccan did not exceed five lakhs and leaving the rest of the people steeped—literally steeped—

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in ignorance, superstition and poverty and bound hand and foot to the domination of the Brahmins. In theory and in purpose, the British rule was just and equitable to all. But a just principle applied without regard to the conditions which obtain produces consequences diametrically opposed to the intended results. This is what was happening in the Deccan during all these years. The masses revolted now and then and small, sporadic outbursts of lawlessness were not infrequent in the later part of the nineteenth century. They were primarily agrarian in character. But without going to the root of the situation which deprived the masses of their lands and made them prone to rise in rebellion, the rulers applied mild palliatives which rendered misery more bearable and, therefore, prolonged ; and they remained still blind to the ever growing decay of the sons of the Deccan.

The few non-Brahmins who, however, received the light of education in these early years saw what the situation was leading to. To Mr. Jotirao Fule, a humble but highly cultured non-Brahmin of Poona, must be given the credit of having sounded the first note of warning. Born in 1827, just two hundred years after Shivaji, he received some English education with the help of a Mahomedan and a European Christian in spite of the Brahmin opposition to his attending school. His contact with the missionaries opened his eyes still further. His simple—almost rude—book faithfully portrayed the thoughts which agitated the minds of the non-Brahmins in those days. He called his book "Slavery" in India and dedicated it to the people of the United States "for their disinterested and selfsacrificing devotion in the cause of Negro Slavery." Published in 1873, the book is a vivid picture of the mental slavery imposed by the sacerdotal class which began by subjugating the original inhabitants of the country whom they called the Maha Ari or the great enemy—a term which in its corrupt form denotes the Mahars or the untouchable people of the Deccan ; and then

by means of mythological stories, religious teachings, literary fabrications and the rest, strengthened their hold on the peo ple who now became either Sudras (menials) or Ateesudras (supermenials or the so-called untouchable classes). It further proves that bureaucracy of Brahmin officials, Brahmin Vakeels (Pleaders), the hereditary Brahmin Kulkarnies (village officers), and the heriditary priests had tightened the grip of their class on the non-Brahmin population under British rule and reduced them to worse wretchedness. The author deals also with the question which an outside reader may ask as to how this Brahmin domination was possible under the British rule which held the reins of authority in its own hands. He describes the extreme ignorance of social conditions which the rulers often disclosed and whereby the co-existence of this Brahmin power with British rule has become possible. Mr. Fule's book bears ample testimony to his reasoned loyalty to the British rule, which, he admits, has in some ways alleviated the Sudra sufferings and to the ' everlasting gratitude,' which he says every non-Brahmin feels for that reason. And yet he exposes the blunder which the rulers committed in the manner described above.

About the middle of the seventies, a great and fundamental change took place in the thought of the Brahmins in the Deccan. The utmost possibilities of prosperity under British rule, consistently with the interests of the British rulers themselves, were beginning to be exhausted. The horizon of the educated Brahmin naturally widened. Ambitions of a newer kind were now rising in them. An intelligent class as it was, it was wielding all practical authority in its own hands. But still the Sahib stood above him, generous and just in his impulses and sincerely desiring to ameliorate the conditions of the masses. As far as the vicious system of *laissez faire* allowed it, he was individually always ready and even anxious to help the non-Brahmins. Having reached the limits of the oppor-

tunities allowed by the British rule, the Brahmin began to look out for room to expand and the only direction now remaining for expansion was the authority which the British people held in their hands. Political agitation for finding more openings in the higher places was the immediate result. The ignorance of the masses never attracted his attention until but recently—and, then too, under the pressure of non-Brahmin public opinion; but the facilitation of entry into the Civil Service was the *summum bonum* of his earlier political activities. Mr. Jotirao's friends had under his lead started what is called the Satya Shodhak movement, whose avowed object was to pull down the Brahmanical superstition which sat heavily like an incubus upon the intellect and the soul of the non-Brahmin. They also tried to agitate for mass education in those early days. Jotirao himself inaugurated a scheme for the education of women and the depressed classes. Like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, he had a soul which revolted against every form of tyranny and injustice. But he was born somewhat before his time in Maharashtra and died in 1890 only a pioneer, a solitary beacon light in the darkness of the age, for the guidance of the non-Brahmin reformers who had yet to come. The Brahmin intellect, already discontented with the pressure from above which began to make itself felt now, was roused from its hitherto self-satisfied complacency by the full implications of the ideas which western education had let loose on Hindu Society. The Brahmins had themselves among their fold Fules like Lokhitwadi, a pseudonym under which Mr. Gopalrao Deshmukh had hurled his attacks on Brahminism. It did not take long to start the reactionary revival movement which since then has been gaining new strength every day. Mr. V. K. Chiplunkar, a Chitpawan Graduate, who had to resign Government Service, led the way by attacking British rule on the one hand and the socio-religious reform movements of Jotirao and Gopalrao on the other. In 1880, Mr. B. G. Tilak stepped into his shoes and made reaction the dominant creed

of the Brahmin in the Deccan. Ranade and Agarkar carried on the battle for liberal ideas for a time but, with the Brahmin intellect as it was, theirs was a losing cause. The death of Jotirao in 1890 left the non-Brahmins leaderless for years and Mr. Tilak had an easy victory over the forces of social justice. The English educated Brahmin now became the hater of the British who stood in the way of his advancement in power and who implanted in the non-Brahmin mind ambitions of attaining a self-respecting citizenship. He became also the antagonist of non-Brahmin activities which threatened the power which he had already learnt to look upon as his monopoly.

The mind of the Deccan was now running into three channels. The Ranade-Agarkar school represented an attempt to incorporate western ideals of justice into the social mechanism of Hinduism. Its only defect already pointed out in a previous chapter, was that it was not far sighted enough to grasp the full potentialities of a non-Brahmin movement. The death of Agarkar in 1895 accentuated another weakness in Ranade. That man of a truly massive intellect was wanting in a readiness to sacrifice his salary. Agarkar was as great as Tilak in this respect and had stemmed the tide of Tilak's reactionary thought with surprising success. Ranade's party could not, after Agarkar's death, gather a fraction of its strength under Agarkar in Maharashtra. Ranade encouraged the Marathas in their Deccan Association. But even his weakness there was apparent when he asked Mr. Sabnis whom he knew at Dhulia, where both of them were serving at one time, if Jadhavrao, then newly appointed by Kolhapur, really worked well. 'Why, he is a Graduate with high educational honours,' replied Mr. Sabnis, then only the Secretary of the Maharaja. 'That is true,' said Mr. Ranade, 'but my question is if he works as well as you and I would do.' That showed how even he, great as he was, failed to recognise fully and unreservedly the capacity of the non-Brahmin to rub shoulders with the

Brahmin. The second channel was the Jotirao Fule school or the Satya Shodhak Samaj. This represented in reality the Ranade school of thought in its direct application to the social conditions of the non-Brahmin Deccan. But unfortunately, for the country, neither of them was then in a position to defeat the third school led by Tilak. His ultra radical onslaughts on the foreign race which ruled India, his respect for the traditions of the old in this country and his skilful resort to methods which were perfectly in consonance with the ideas of the class to which he appealed for support, carried him from success to success until in 1895 he inagurated the Shivaji movement. Its first object was the repairing of that hero's tomb at Raigad. It was an Englishman who first called public attention to the shameful condition of that tomb. Ranade tried to take up the movement; but he soon passed it into the more virile hands of Tilak. With him the movement was soon bound to take a political turn and we have seen that it did so.

From what I have said hitherto, the connection between the Shivaji movement in Tilak's hands and the hatred of the British connection with India must be clear. Equally clear must be the attitude of the new non-Brahmin leader—His Highness the Chhatrapati of Kolhapur—to this form of the Shivaji Cult which tried to exploit public regard for the Mahratta hero for the purposes of a socially reactionary and politically anti-British propaganda. In Kolhapur, the Brahmins were practically without exception disciples of the Tilak school. They had shown by their intensely dogged opposition to the Kshatriya status of the Maratha aristocracy under the Maharaja that they were out and out followers of Tilak. Their failure to enlist the sympathies of the British Officials on their side against the Maharaja created a local embitterment absent from other places in the Deccan. The loss of power resulting from the non-Brahmin policy of His Highness led to still further estrangement between them and their ruler. And as this went on, the young Brahmin began to ponder secretly in his

mind over the lessons which Tilak had taught by implication from the crimes ascribed to Shivaji in his struggles with his Mussalman and Hindu adversaries.

The Shivaji Club, founded in 1893, first attracted attention in 1895 when certain unlicensed arms were detected in the possession of some of its members. His Highness took alarm, but was told that the Government did not attach any significance to it. In 1898, its membership grew to three hundred, probably because of Mr. Tilak's incarceration on account of the Shivaji movement in the year previous. In that year, one or two of its members visited a sister institution at Beer and Aurangabad where the Kolhapur branch assisted the common fund by a substantial sum of one thousand rupees and a small rising in arms was followed by the suppression of the movement there and the flight of its organiser to Goa under a false name.

The outbreak of plague in 1900 and the evacuation of Kolhapur City by its inhabitants gave the boys of the Shivaji Club a better opportunity to apply the lessons thus learnt. Did they not require money to carry on the intended war against their oppressors. the British ? Thefts were committed by housebreakings. Investigations disclosed the names of many youths, one of whom was the son of the late Assistant Surgeon of the Maharaja, Mr. Apte. The Maharaja was not still on the warpath against the Brahmins. And the young patriots did not wish to molest Kolhapur in any way. But the Government seems to have been informed by some one whose words had to be taken seriously that these Shivaji Club thefts were instigated by His Highness, his brother Bapusaheb and some other chiefs in Kolhapur ! When the poison case clouds were dispersed, these suspicions also came to an end. Mr. Jackson, afterwards cruelly murdered by an anarchist, had succeeded Colonel Wray and he informed His Highness on May 21, 1900 :—

" I have seen Mr. Morrison and enclose a draft of what I propose to send him. Please return the draft after reading it.

I need not assure you that neither I nor Government ever doubted your or your brother's or the Chief's loyalty. Mr. Morrison does not think Government place any reliance on the details of the report or think it necessary to inquire into their correctness. They would consider it quite sufficient if you write to issue a general order of the kind mentioned in my draft based on the ascertained fact that some few minor officials or their relations took part in the Club. My draft, I think, will prevent any possibility of misunderstanding arising in future from the presence of this report on the records of Government and you may regard the matter as finally closed."

Two days later, another officer in Poona writes :—

"I have got from Mr. Morrison that list of alleged members of the Shivaji Club. I cannot find Bapusaheb's name in it."

One wonders how anybody could so much as mention Bapusaheb's name in this connection. But there it was and His Highness must have breathed a sigh of relief that his name was not there. The matter was finally disposed of with the following communication from Mr. Jackson on May 29, 1900 :—

" In answer to that draft letter about the Shivaji Club which I showed you at Mahableshwar, Mr. Morrison informs me that the Government think that the order which His Highness proposes to issue forbidding the State Officials and their near relations from joining the Club is all that is necessary."

The most prominent member of the Club was Damu Joshi, who left Kolhapur to avoid suspicions and in consultation with some seditionists outside Kolhapur, he is said to have unsuccessfully pursued Lord Curzon in his tours in 1902 with the object of murdering him. After wandering over the whole country including the villages of the Nepal State and discussing the methods of amassing money by robbery and the possibility of collecting arms to shoot the white enemy with several well-known persons of disloyal proclivities, Damu returned

to Kolhapur and hit upon the plan of sending some one of his friends to Japan and for that purpose the members of the Club again resorted to a few more thefts in Kolhapur in 1905. Detected by the Police, Damu was convicted with three other comrades on a charge of theft and sentenced to imprisonment. On his release, another theft of property worth many thousands was committed in 1906 for which two members were convicted and Damu himself received six months more. After serving his turn, Damu again started on his errand to places far and near and obtained some arms and, what was more important, the formulæ for bomb making from some comrades in Poona. This took him the whole of 1907.

In the meanwhile, Kolhapur was on the tiptoe of nervous agitation on account of the serious reverses suffered by the local Brahmins. The failure of the Representative Assembly as a weapon of attack was followed by a Political Meetings Ordinance by the Kolhapur Darbar in June 1907, which prevented public meetings without the previous permission of the District Magistrate. The non-Brahmin revolt forced its way into the management of the beautiful Native General Library of Kolhapur in July. A proportionate share of the seats on the Managing Board was demanded by the non-Brahmin members while their opponents insisted on carrying all the seats with the brute force of their superior numbers on the Members' List. This led to a protracted dispute which ultimately developed into rowdyism and a meeting under the presidentship of Mr. Modak, an Extremist leader in the Deccan, had to be dispersed by order of the District Magistrate. Annoyed by these rebuffs, Damu Joshi and one Pandit went to Modak and in consultation with him and K. D. Kulkarni, another Brahmin Extremist, hatched a plot to murder Colonel Ferris. The occasion suggested was the marriage of Akkasaheb but Damu preferred to attack the Colonel in a running train on April 16, 1908. He actually attempted to fire, but the revolver failed on its first shot and Damu returned unsuccessful.

The story of the unrest in Kolhapur would be incomplete without a reference to the *National* school of Mr. Bijapurkar, called the *Samarth Vidyalaya*. In the baseless Brahmin version of Shivaji's history, this Samarth—a Brahmin poet saint—is described as the prime mover in the events of the seventeenth century, the Brahmin who must have all the credit for the achievements of Shivaji. In the Indian struggle for independence in the twentieth century, how could the Shivaji Club—the physical manifestation of that hero's prowess—remain without its corresponding spiritual or motive power alleged to have been infused by the Samarth of old in his pupil Shivaji ? Consciously or unconsciously Mr. Bijapurkar thus became the Samarth of modern Kolhapur and complemented the work begun by the Shivaji Club. The anology does not close here. As in the older case, history recorded no connection between Samarth and Shivaji till about the full maturity of the latter's successes, so in this also there was no demonstrable proof of any direct relationship between the two institutions until in June 1908 a monthly magazine edited by Messrs. Bijapurkar and Joshi appeared before the public with an article on the "Power of the Vedic Verses" purporting to be written by Mr. S. D. Satavalekar. The Vidyalaya did not attract many students and, as a school, it never played any important part in the educational history of either Kolhapur or the Maharashtra to which at Talegaon it was soon removed. It was, however, a powerful indication of the spirit which animated the men at the helm and which was hoped to be infused into the impressionable minds of the ardent young men. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, it is said, refused to recognise the need or the nature of this 'national education' movement. In the sense that the education we receive in our schools and colleges at present is as national as it could be under the circumstances of our country, he was right. It was this British-organised system which gave us the first idea of nationhood and an all-India patriotism. It was this system which brought home to

India the need of national unity. It was the same system which had taught Indians to think of liberty, individual as well as national, and to love democracy. What could be more national than a system which had produced these results ? If the aim was to vernacularise education, much can be said in favour of the idea and, to be a little egoistic, I wrote an article in Mr. Bijapurkar's magazine long before 1907, appealing to the Mahratta educated people to start a purely Marathi Secondary School at Kolhapur. That was in 1902. With this article in mind, Mr. Bijapurkar had invited me to join his Vidyalaya, I believe in 1905. But it could be said that a vernacular system of education could at best be sub-national or provincial, if not anti-national. By each Province or a part of a Province in India insisting on its own sub-national vernacular, we could only accentuate our narrower provincial or racial tendencies and be cut off from the unifying forces created by a common educational language for all India. Worse still, such a system could not but cut off the rising generations from the springs of Western ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity as imbeded in the immortal works of Burke and Mill. The real effort which we must make to *nationalise* education in India is to extend it to the vast unpenetrated layers of Indian society which remain to this day steeped in ignorance. Improvements in the educational system were bound to come from time to time and a growing use of the principal vernaculars as they develop as the vehicle of instruction is also bound to come along with a common language for the whole country. But the crying need of our age is the nationalisation of education by spreading it among the masses. Speaking of it for the Deccan, national education thus came to mean the non-Brahminising of it. That was what His Highness and the backward communities were trying to do and I declined to accept the invitation of my former teacher Mr. Bijapurkar.

What then was the meaning of that phrase—national education—in the parlance of Mr. Bijapurkar in Kolhapur and many others in Bengal and Maharashtra who agitated for it then and have not ceased doing so even to-day? It was the restraint imposed by Government on the extra-educational proclivities so agreeable to raw minds which their schools wished to break asunder under the guise of nationalising it. The Maharaja was right in complaining of this ever since the Samarth Vidyalaya came into being at Kolhapur.

The first bomb outrage in Bengal had now been perpetrated and the world now knew that India was in possession of that anarchist weapon. On June 27, the first explosion of some miniature bomb took place on the road joining the Kolhapur City to its railway station. It was believed that this was meant for His Highness himself who was expected to arrive in Kolhapur that morning and to pass by the road on which this explosive substance was kept. His Highness reached the City later as he arrived by a later train from Poona and the explosion only injured a hackney tonga plying on that road. This was followed by placards in various prominent places of the town describing a formula for making bombs only a fortnight later and in another week's time, some dangerous chemicals were found to have been stolen. His Highness had, it seems, got scent of the brewing storm a year earlier. The thefts of 1906 had given him some knowledge of the gang which infested the Shivaji Club. In August 1906, His Highness says :—

"I have been making inquiries into the robberies committed by Brahmin boys. On inquiry we learn that they have collected some arms but it is difficult to get at them. The principal culprits are all Brahmins and are connected with the Tilak Party at Poona. We are getting their photo in which Tilak is sitting in the centre and his captains on both sides. Three of the offenders in the theft are there."

A little later, an incident occurred at the Narsobawadi fair, which gave him another indication of the spirit that was

gathering strength. He says on October 18 of the same year :—

"There is an annual fair held at a place called Narsoba's Wadi in my State. Many Brahmins and others assembled there for worship and dinner. Bijapurkar, Rashingkar, and Deshapande of Belgaum and their party wanted to take advantage of this religious assemblage to deliver inflammatory speeches. My officers tried to prevent them. They questioned their legal authority to do so and said they would deliver a lecture on a religious subject saying that sugar from foreign countries should not be used as it contained blood and bones of cows and pigs; even then, my officers objected, but they defied them and had their lecture. They could afford to act in this way because this is (that is Kolhapur is) considered by them as their stronghold next to Poona. If I may speak out my mind freely, I think that this attitude of Brahmins here (that is in Kolhapur) as well as in the British Districts, for instance in places like Nasik, Belgaum and Poona, makes me fear that it will end in some horrible acts of violence.

Even the Bhikshuka, that is, the beggar class of Brahmins are getting insolent. They defied all the authorities at Narsoba's Wadi and refused to pass the customary Kabulayat and referred the authorities to go to law against them."

His Highness tried to pursue the investigations into the thefts of 1906 as far as he could. But the spirit of the class to which these criminals belong was growing so threatening that one of his strongest Police Officers complained in that year that there was considerable risk in trying to probe deep into offences committed by educated Brahmins. His Highness asked the Political Agent to instruct his European Assistant to investigate the information he had obtained regarding the man who had shadowed Lord Curzon in 1902 so that though nothing could be legally proved, a moral conviction about the truth of the report might put Government on its guard.

This was about the middle of 1907. He went so far as to suggest the information to Sir Louis Dane at Simla. But much attention does not seem to have been given to this by British officials possibly because they did not wish to be perturbed by suspicions. In May 1908, a year afterwards, His Highness came to know more about the plot which, he learnt, was laid to introduce bombs into India with the help of men who had learnt about their manufacture in Germany, France and Japan. To his knowledge, Belgaum, Poona, Satara and Nasik shared the knowledge of this nefarious art with Kolhapur. Preceding the first bomb outrage in Bengal as this information did, it had very great significance. But the placid optimism of the officials still could not be overcome. As Colonel Ferris says," I thought he (*i.e.*, the informant) was a little premature in his anticipations ;" but he had frankly to admit a little later that " he was not" so.

His Highness had now to take over the investigation of the political cases under his direct supervision and the credit of anticipating events even outside Kolhapur must be given to him. The Station Road explosion, though futile in its immediate result, brought matters to a head. Two sets of cases were now ready. The prosecution of Messrs. Bijapurkar, Joshi and the printer Joshirao on a charge under Section 302 coupled with Sections 115 and 124A of the Penal Code came first before the Special Sessions Judge, Mr. Kincaid, whose services had to be temporarily requisitioned owing to the unwillingness of Messrs. Pandit and Gokhale—the two Judges in Kolhapur—to try their friends. A difficulty of a technical kind had to be faced owing to the Kolhapur Penal Section 124A not covering sedition against the British Government. Then again there was the question of extradition which could not be allowed for an offence under Section 124A. The latter was removed by the accused presenting themselves in Kolhapur of their own free will. The former was set at rest by the reference which the impugned article had made to the uselessness of the

Chhatrapati who does not drive out the 'enslavers' of the world. An attempt was made by the defence to show that this was a title of the ancient Kings of Ayodhya. The article was not, however, written in ancient times and an ordinary Marathi reader could not think of any one but the Kolhapur Maharaja when an attack on the Kshatriyaship of a Chhatrapati was made in an article published in Kolhapur at the time in question. The article commenced with a reference to the Moderates, who deprecated retaliation with vengeance against the enemies, went on to quote Vedic imprecations on the foe and concluded by asking the people to follow the advice implied in the Vedic hymns and the Puranic texts, which described the modes of dealing with the enemies of the nation. The quotations, of course, referred only to the opposing tribes with which the Vedic Aryans had to contend for the possession of the land and the supremacy of their own race. The writer's obvious aim was to induce his readers to adopt similar means against their national enemies. Who they were, it was needless to say. This prosecution ended in the conviction of the three accused on January 19, 1909.

The writer of the article was arrested later and brought to justice before Mr. K. N. Pandit, the Chief Judge, in July 1909. He was acquitted by Mr. Pandit principally on the ground that the editor Mr. Joshi took upon himself the responsibility of all the passages in question which, as he stated, he had himself introduced in the articles without the knowledge of the writer. This was certainly sufficient for the purposes of the acquittal. But Mr. Pandit wished to go further. Admitting as he did that "this view of the case renders it unnecessary for me to go into the third question which relates to the construction of the article", he still could not resist the temptation of attacking Mr. Kincaid who had held that the article was an attempted instigation to murder and probably to serve the cause—*how*, one cannot find out—of his friends who had been convicted by Mr. Kincaid. And thus in the

course of his judgment, Mr. Pandit indulged in an endeavour to expose the fallacies of Mr. Kincaid who occupied a status equal with if not better than his own. This cost him his office and he had shortly to retire on pension.

It is, I believe, unnecessary to go into the details of the other three cases. In the first, three Brahmin youths were convicted on a charge of stealing chemicals from the Laboratory of the Private School. In the second and more important one, Damu Joshi and seven others were tried for putting up placards in various places describing the process of bomb making. Damu and another were acquitted by Mr. Kincaid and the others were sentenced to comparatively light punishments. In the third case, the same Judge again acquitted Damu of a charge of conspiring to murder Colonel Ferris, but sentenced three others, Bapat, Gadre and Gokhale, the first to seven years and the two others to two years' imprisonment in addition to fine. On appeal, however, Damu was sentenced to seven years for each of the offences. He escaped from the Jail in 1919 and has not since then been traced.

Out of this last case arose the prosecution of Nagpurkar and Modak on a charge of abetment of an offence under Section 302 of the Indian Penal Code which was attempted by Damu Joshi against Colonel Ferris. Before the trial commenced in March 1911 in the Court of the Special Sessions Judge, Mr. Clements, many developments of some importance had taken place which we must for a moment review. The acquittal of Damu by Mr. Kincaid in January 1909 seems to have created suspicions which it was necessary to remove. The Maharaja had not only to convince himself but convert others to his own views. Surrounded by enemies whom his policy had made for him, he was more often than not in advance of the actual proof of the reports that he received. In July 1908, he had received anonymous letters threatening him with a bomb for having "insulted Tilak's Jagadguru." In September he believed that it was "likely to find from the people in Belgaum a

ready made bomb" and other arms and ammunition. But any attempt to investigate these ramifications of the story into British India could not be pursued by the Kolhapur Police and the judgment of the British Police was more valuable there than his own. He had, however, to complain on numerous occasions that the success of his Police in tracing conspiracies whose existence others had declined to believe created jealousies in other minds. On 11th October, he had to declare that he had "given up Satara and Belgaum as it seems the British Police are taking them up." It was probably the result of differences which had arisen in connection with important finds at Mazagaon near Belgaum between Kolhapur and British Police. After the acquittal of Damu, one may have thought that the trials had not succeeded as well as they should have. There was nothing surprising if His Highness felt a little disappointed at his inability to follow the threads obtained by his men, as they were poohpooed by others. In February, Mr. Stevenson Moore, of the Criminal Intelligence Department, visited Kolhapur and reported that one Hotilal's statement recorded by him corroborated the Poona bomb experiment referred to by Damu Joshi. "Of course as this was come from the Simla source, there could be nothing got up." Two officers from the British service, one European and another Indian, now assisted the further inquiries by the Kolhapur men.

While this was going on, the matter seems to have been complicated by the statement made by one Malya Dhangar, an under-trial prisoner in the Belgaum Jail, that he had assaulted Mr. Jadhavrao, an officer in Kolhapur, at the instigation of another officer at the same place. That was followed by a retractation which was again followed by a reaffirmation. This went on until he escaped from the Jail about the end of 1909. Gossip was busy connecting the daring escapade to this official or that in the State and His Highness had to request the Government to pay special

attention to the investigation. He wrote on December 15:—

"It was a very scandalous thing that he should go away in broad daylight especially when every one was talking about him that my Huzur Chitnis, District Magistrate, and Mr. . . . . had access to him in Jail. This little matter is causing friction between non-Brahmins here and the Brahmins are getting the best out of it. Inquiry will, of course, be made by Government about the escape, but I should consider it a great favour personally on me if you could give just a little special attention. Then everything would be alright. Whoever the culprit may be, whatever his official position or rank may be, whether my officers or those of Government, they should be once for all strictly dealt with and everything would be quiet on this side."

But the little rift in the lute could not only be not corrected, but as days rolled on, it assumed a serious aspect. The investigations at Belgaum made by British officials, who had re-arrested Malya after some months, disclosed unpleasant connections with certain Kolhapur men. Internecine quarrels have always one result and Kolhapur was thoroughly familiar, as we have seen in Chapter II, with the evils they produced not only on their immediate participators, but on the administration as a whole. The time for apportioning credit or blame in this matter and in its several offshoots is not yet. Many of the persons who played a part in that tragic drama are still alive and a full unravelling of the conspiracy and its results must be reserved for the future historian of Kolhapur. It is enough for the purposes of these Memoirs to say that even His Highness was bothered in no mean degree by the squabbles then going on. "Although I had troubles from the Brahmins," he wrote in May 1911, "my brother and my wife always consoled me. If you believe me, ours is the most *happy family* in the whole of India . . . . That is a very difficult position for me

that I cannot tell you all that I want to tell, because both the parties are the trees of my own plantation. This difficulty is indeed very great "—greater, I should say, than he himself probably realised at that time.

His Highness' health too seems to have begun giving him considerable trouble at this time. Endowed by nature with a wonderfully robust and superb physique, he had in his early days developed it to what appeared to be capable of lasting him for double the span of ordinary human life. His record ride from Kolhapur to Mahableshwar, his rough life in shikar trips which had become his second nature and the feat of drawing a *mote* which takes two good bullocks to draw, performed by him at Shirol in 1898, gave proof—if proof was needed—of his excellent health and strength. But the weakness of his inheritance, as his tutor had observed, gave him trouble even before he was installed. The first great change, however, came in about 1909. He had become somewhat flabby and along with his heart, his digestion seemed to be weakening. About April 1910, he contemplated a visit to Germany for the purpose of taking a course of baths there. But with his chronic carelessness about health, he gave up the idea soon after. He had begun one of those many experiments which he made with his own body. "You will be surprised to hear" he tells Sir John Muir Mackenzie on May 22, 1910, "that I fasted for six days for my obesity and I have broken the fast to-day, and I am feeling quite fresh and I shall after a month or so resume it again." He went on experimenting like this till the very last hour of his life.

The bomb and sedition inquiries he was making enabled him to discover the complicity, though not direct, of some of his Jahagirdars with the persons concerned in the political offences. The diaries of one of the accused showed that they were unequivocally encouraging some of these seditionists. "They seem to be mixed up and attending meetings of Tilak

and Bepin Pal and collecting funds from their subjects for Tilak and such other funds." Their secretaries were apparently collecting funds for objectionable purposes. After being fully convinced of their improper conduct, His Highness decided to show to one or two of his Jahagirdars his displeasure by withdrawing from them the powers of residuary jurisdiction which he had conferred upon them in 1905 on condition of their remaining loyal. Thus an order was passed early in 1910 (January 21) whereby the Jahagirdars of Ichalkaranji and Vishalgad were for a time deprived of the special powers which had been conferred on them, to try all cases not exclusively triable by the Sessions Court and the exemption from the supervisory powers of the High Court, both of which belonged to His Highness under the 1903 modification of the Agreement of 1862.

Another question which affected the relations of Native States with British India attracted the Maharaja's attention in 1909. An Extremist Marathi daily of Bombay, now defunct, edited by Mr. G. B. Modak, who was concerned with the Ferris murder attempted by Damu Joshi, attacked some of the non-Brahmin officers of Kolhapur and the administration of the State in a series of rabid articles in the autumn of 1909. On October 13, His Highness complained :—

"You know the Native papers are able to vilify me, my administration and officers with impunity. I may mention that for many reasons, we are vilified more than any other Native State. Lately the *Rashtramat* has abused my Executive Engineer and Darbar Surgeon. They both belong to the backward classes. They have already laid complaints, both criminal and civil, in the Courts of the Residency and have asked for large damages. Since this, people have been coming to me and bringing pressure on me to compromise the matter because the cases are very strong and *Rashtramat* will be no more. The Press rules now in existence in British India are meant to protect the public in British

territory but they do not give any protection to the Chiefs or their Officers who are very loyal. This the papers know well and they freely abuse the Native States and the Native States cannot do anything because, in the first place, the offence is not extraditable. If they are sued and prosecuted in British Courts, it becomes very inconvenient to take up all the officers, and witnesses into British territory and at the same time, it is very expensive. Of course a Chief like myself would like to undertake and enjoy such prosecution, but I cannot afford to stay away for days and months together. . . . . Of course I do not mind, but the dirt sometimes sticks. The solution of all these difficulties would be to allow such cases to be heard and tried in Residency Courts."

In so far as the claim of the Darbars for protection from malevolent attacks in the Press of British India was concerned, His Highness was on perfectly firm ground. And the remedy he suggested was as reasonable. The officers of the States could not, of course, be allowed to go out of their way and claim the protection of this extraordinary jurisdiction sought to be conferred on Residency Courts. This representation of a legitimate grievance of the States received consideration by the Government of India and, though the exact remedy was not accepted, provision was made to meet the difficulty in the Press Act, which was soon enacted. His Highness wrote to another friend a little later :—

"Unless this is done, the Native papers would be fighting with a sword against persons bound hand and foot as the Native State Officers and Chiefs are in such cases. Why I say that mere change of making defamation an extraditable offence would not serve the purpose is that if the papers are convicted, it will be put down to 'zulum' in Native States. This might do in far away places like Sind, Kathiawar, Idar, etc."

The reply was :

"Your complaint of the impunity with which Chiefs and their administrations are vilified is fully justified. We have already made proposals for the alterations of the law ; and at Simla I spoke to Mr. Sinha about it. I hope we may get something done, which will put an end to what is undoubtedly a grave scandal. In the meanwhile we must do the best we can."

One might justifiably claim a success in this for the Maharaja.

Mr. Jackson of the Indian Civil Service was in December 1909 the victim of a foul attack by the revolver of a youthful anarchist, Kanhere of Nasik. Coming to Kolhapur soon after the stormy days of Colonel Wray as its Political Agent, Mr. Jackson had proved a very agreeable friend to His Highness during his short stay in the Maharaja's capital and his cruel death was felt as a personal loss by him. At the condolence meeting held under his presidency, His Highness referred to the sad event in very feeling terms and after some months, sent a handsome present to Mrs. Jackson who had been so suddenly and so cruelly deprived of the mainstay of her life. The meeting was however very poorly attended. In the words of His Highness, "I am really very ashamed to say that when I called a meeting to express our disgust at the cold-blooded murder, the meeting was attended only by a few Maratha and Jain students and non-Brahmin feudatories and officers. Not a single Brahmin pleader, officer or student attended it."

The trial of Modak and Nagpurkar was concluded on March 31, 1911, and while the latter was acquitted, the former received seven years of transportation. The last case in the batch—against Modak's associate, K. D. Kulkarni—was hanging fire for many years as the accused had been all the while absconding. He surrendered himself in 1919 and after a trial, Mr. V. B. Gokhale, a Brahmin Judge,

convicted him and gave as heavy a punishment to him as Modak had got.

His Highness' work in connection with the discovery of these offences, directed mainly against the British Government, won him on the one hand the full approbation of the Government who conferred upon him, in January 1909, a personal salute of 21 guns. But he had also to incur the wrath of a section of the people in Maharashtra who began to hate him more than ever before. His anti-sedition campaign endeared him to the Government as his Vedokta and Education work had brought him nearer to the heart of the non-Brahmins. But the class which looked upon him as their staunch opponent on the social arena now found in him the worst of their political antagonists. Years after these cases had been disposed of and the din of the hearings in the Law Courts had died down, a Poona newspaper published extracts from the letters written and received by His Highness in the course of these two or three years. How they were obtained is and will remain for ever an insoluble enigma to the world at large. But the wonder is that a writer capable of sober thought should have based on this correspondence a tirade against the Maharaja, describing him as a 'Traitor to Self-Government' in India. The extracts as well as the criticism were later on published in the more permanent form of a booklet and the head note and the preface renewed the attack on him on the ground that the letters thus disclosed showed that the Maharaja was an enemy of Swarajya. The inuendo is obvious. But what, after all, did the correspondence show ? It showed for one thing that the Maharaja was loyal to the Sovereign and that when he got scent of anarchist conspiracies, he gave information to the Government and followed the clues he had got with as much skill as he could. Whatever else it may have been, it was not injurious to the cause of Swarajya unless one is to suppose that such conspiracies are the means to the attain-

ment of that goal. It also showed that the British Government appreciated his efforts to unravel the plots and assured him of their support in the righteous work he was doing. Was that detrimental to the cause of Swarajya ? The main point of the attack was that the Maharaja was an enemy of democracy. The criterion by which one is to judge on this question is the meaning which is to be attached to that much misunderstood word. He was firmly and frankly of opinion that, unless the masses of the country were better educated and freed from the mental slavery to which they are at present subjected, a democracy in India was bound to mean an undiluted and vicious oligarchy entrenched not only behind political but behind socio-intellectual monopoly of power. As between that kind of oligarchy and the present bureaucracy, His Highness frankly preferred the latter. That was exactly why he insisted that the educationally backward classes must be as quickly educated as possible and the mass mind of the country emancipated. And that, in his view, was laying the true foundations of a democracy in India. Was he wrong ? I might add that, in this wider and truer sense, he was a more consistent democrat than many lip-nationalists who have hitherto attacked him in this connection. A man like His Highness who had fought tooth and nail to awaken self-respect in his fellow-men by freeing them from the ban of Sudrahood and a man who had distinctly helped numerous backward communities to enter the portals of western culture—could he be in any sense an enemy of democracy in British India ? A true democrat in India has to guard with lavish care against the pretensions of communal oligarchies to masquerade in the borrowed feathers of a superficial democracy. Nothing could be more oppressive than such a spurious imitation of that rare article, a democratic Government suited to a democratic social organisation. He feared the growth of Brahmanical power with a nervousness which surprised many. But no one could assail

the fact that he did substantial service to the cause of Swarajya by broadening the basis of our national life. In the achievement of that essential work, loyalty to the British Sovereign, respect and admiration for the gifts of western culture, readiness to concede rights to our inferiors before demanding them from others, gratitude to the British Nation for the great good done by it to India, faith in the plighted word of that nation and in the accepted goal of its Indian policy, the eradication of many a social evil eating into the vitals of our public life, these and similar other conditions were the *sine qua non* and, considered as a whole, His Highness' individual contribution to the cause of this nation-building has been better than that of many of our so-called patriots who have tried to malign him as a traitor and enemy of self-government.

Nor is there anything in these transactions which would reflect the least discredit upon the attitude of Government officials towards the accused in these political cases. The impression sought be engendered by the critics is that an attempt was being made by some of them to encourage the use of any but the most honest methods to bring about the convictions. Sir George Clarke has been stigmatised by one of these critics as a "wicked" man. This was, to say the least of it, absolutely unjustified. At the end of 1909, Sir George Clarke wrote to His Highness :—

"I hope I need not tell you how very greatly I value your co-operation and your devoted loyalty to His Majesty's Government in India of which you have given striking proofs since I came to India. Your assistance has been most valuable and I can assure you that it is very warmly appreciated by Government . . . . . Again assuring of the support of Government in any difficulties which might arise from your devoted loyalty to the Crown." The letter concludes here.

A few months earlier he wrote :—

"Your life is of inestimable importance to your State and to the Southern Mahratta Country, *where your influence for good is great.* I beg, therefore, that you will not drive unattended."

About the same time Sir John Muir Mackenzie says :—

"You may rely on it that Government will cordially recognise your work and that of your Police. There is nothing legitimate, I believe, that Government will not do for Your Highness for the asking."

Sir William Lee Warner, then in the India Office, writes in March 1910 :—

"I have watched with deep interest your loyal action in the last year or so, and trust that the united action of the Government and the Princes of India will convince these sedition mongers that their course of action is not only criminal but *detested by their own people and useless.*" (The Italics are mine).

Why was encouragement so profusely showered upon His Highness ? Was it to pat him on the back so that he might, as some critics said, crush the political reformers by hook or by crook ? There is not a shred of evidence to support such an allegation. The real question in appraising His Highness' work in this connection is whether one believes in the British connection as a source of benefit to both the countries and has faith in the assurance that a well ordered progress is bound to carry India to the highest goal of her national life, consistently with the maintenance of that connection. The Maharaja was one of those who believed, in spirit as well as letter, that the *pax Britannica* was an indispensable condition of Indian progress which, owing to the social conditions for which Indians are themselves responsible, must be slow and must take time. What is the attitude of the Extremist agitator towards this question ? I need not answer. This being so, the Government was morally

justified in supporting those who had faith in these fundamentals of the Indian political school which His Highness represented. The true complaint was that the Government was too weak to follow the straight policy. The prescription of Lord Morley, as we know, was a mixture of repression and concession. In so far as it applied to the temporarily misled people, it was certainly the wisest policy. Concessions to the reasonable demands are clearly necessary and wise. A stubborn attitude towards legitimate aspirations spells certain disasters. But when the demand is based on the assumption that the British connection is an unmixed evil, that it ought as soon as possible be rent asunder, that the goal of British Policy is not at all in the direction of India's welfare and the only weapons of agitation, where possible are terrorism and murder, what is the expected outcome of concessions? "I am afraid," wrote His Highness in February 1909, "the present weak policy will only make loyal people disloyal and increase the number of seditionists and agitators." As one is likely to err on the side of leniency in dealing with political irreconcilables, I know one is likely to err on the side of what is called a "strong policy". But when His Highness was dealing with depraved characters who did not hesitate to use methods of terrorisation against honest men of opposite views, his policy amply deserved all the support that the Government could give.

As for the great skill and tact of the Maharaja's personality, the best testimony comes, not from the Government side, but from the paper of Mr. Tilak whom he had consistently antagonised. Referring to these incidents, it says :—

"God had given the Maharaja an extraordinary physique. None of the seven hundred Princes of India is comparable with him in this respect. His physical strength is such as would have become even a Kshatriya of the olden days. His intellect is still more praiseworthy. Possibly

we may find some individuals among our Princes who may equal him in this respect. Yet after considering the exploits of his intellect, we think that His Highness would certainly have made a name for himself by hook or crook if he had been born in old historical times."

Coming from the very opposite camp and coming at a time when the foes stood face to face on a field of battle, this ungrudging recognition of the Maharaja's intellectual eminence is a much higher compliment than at first sight it appears to be.

Printed by E. G. Pearson at The Times Press, Bombay, and published by B. L. Patil, Kolhapur.—J. 1050'24

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